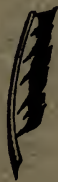
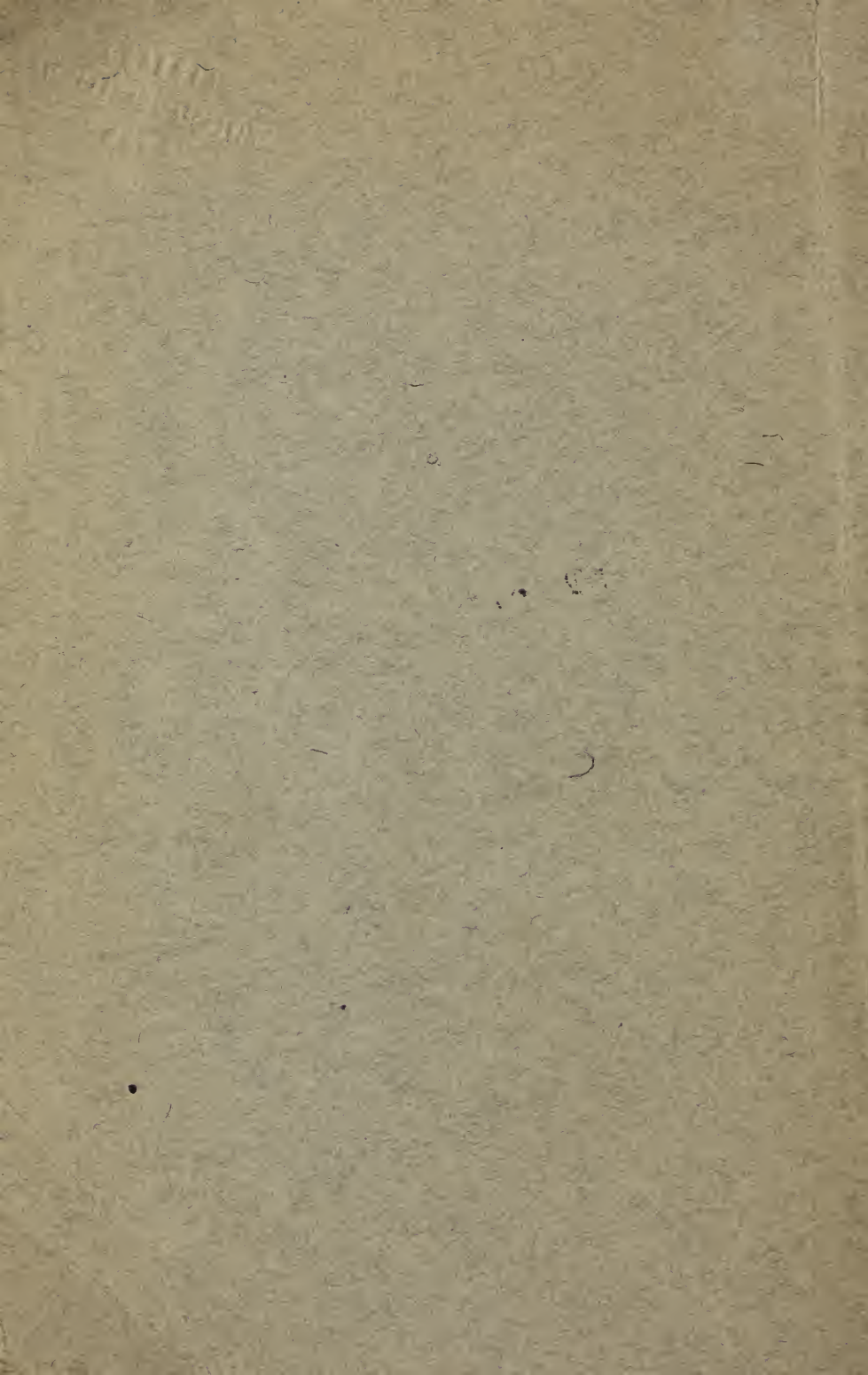


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An Introduction to

# Modern History

By

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## PREFACE

The great aim and service of modern history is to create an interest in present-day politics. One of the great weaknesses in the students of our secondary schools is their indifference to what is going on in the world about them. We can often trace the sequence of events through the long and winding paths of history until our efforts finally illuminate an otherwise mysterious contemporary act. He who has had this experience will have an interest in books, magazines, and newspapers, and in the political life of his community.

This elementary modern history is intended to serve as the first view of the field. Many details have been omitted in the effort to present a simple, comprehensible outline of the whole. Since much has been omitted, what remains should be absolutely mastered.

A history text-book will no more teach itself than does one in mathematics; this mere torso of a text-book calls for special consideration from the teacher. The great condensation of the text makes necessary a maximum of explanation. It is hoped that the topics for extra study inserted at the close of the various chapters will furnish suggestions for lectures, and for outside readings by the class.

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# CHAPTER I.

## EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY.

Modern history is an account of the doings of nations, of their quarrels and jealousies, of their development and power. Before modern times there were no distinct European nations, each feeling its own individuality and integrity; but an interesting development took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for unified states in the modern sense began then to appear. Modern history may be called the Age of Nations.

**Modern  
History  
Defined.**

**Europe in 1500.**—In England in 1485 the Duke of Richmond put an end to the Wars of the Roses at the battle of Bosworth Field. This civil war had lasted for thirty years and had terribly devastated England. The Duke settled the long dispute over the crown between the houses of Lancaster and York by taking it for himself, for he was related to the Lancastrians. He then quieted opposition by marrying Elizabeth of York, and founded a new line of kings, the Tudors. Ruling as Henry VII, he united England very firmly under his control and made the sovereign the most powerful part of the government. He easily put down various rebellions against his authority; he collected heavy taxes from his people and thus kept his treasury full. He also forbade his great nobles to maintain bands of armed servants, a custom which made civil war easy in a time when the King had no standing army and a lord's castle was strong enough to defend him against a considerable force. He used his great arbitrary central courts to destroy any trace of independent thought in Church and State. During his rule Parliament was simply a device for registering his will in the form of laws. As a result of this unification of England under the single will of the King, the government was strong enough to take part in foreign affairs. United at home, England for the first time became a power in European doings. Under Henry VIII, the son of Henry Tudor, England held the balance of power between the two great rivals, Francis I, King of France, and Charles V, Emperor of Germany, who also controlled<sup>1</sup> large districts outside of Germany.

**The  
Unification  
of England.**

During mediaeval times France had been broken up even more completely than England. French feudalism had been so completely decentralizing that the French nobles had taken practically all powers of government to themselves and the King had become a figurehead. He had the highest rank in the country, but little authority. Even after strong mediaeval sovereigns like Philip Augustus and Philip the Fair had gained a measure of authority in France the disastrous defeats during the Hundred Years War had robbed the King of both power and prestige. With the help of Joan of Arc, Charles VII had regained much of his territory from England with a consequent

**The  
Unification  
of France.**

<sup>1</sup>He was King of Spain and Portugal and controlled large districts in Italy; he was Duke of the rich Netherlands and head of the Hapsburg house in Germany.

increase of influence in France. When his eccentric<sup>1</sup> son, Louis XI, inherited the throne in 1461, he set about by fair means and foul to make himself supreme master of all the French territories. The great French nobles formed a league against the King, but the shrewdness and unscrupulousness of Louis carried him past every obstacle. He went so far as to encourage the Swiss to go to war with his most powerful vassal, the Duke of Burgundy. This prince, Charles the Bold, was decisively defeated by the Swiss and killed in the battle of Nancy in 1477. Louis XI then appropriated much of his territory for France. In 1480 he took under his direct control the possessions of the House of Anjou, another great noble family in France. Thereafter he had undisputed control in his realm, and really began modern history for France.

In France as in England, unity at home gave the ruler an opportunity to take part in foreign affairs. A subject for such negotiations lay close at hand for the French kings, because, as members of the House of Anjou, they claimed the kingdom of Naples. The Pope and the Italian cities opposed this claim, and the result was that Charles VIII, the son of Louis XI, led a French army into Italy to take this disputed territory by force. The expedition was a failure, and the question of the possession of Italy became one of the leading foreign problems for France during the following three centuries.

Spain also became unified at the close of the fifteenth century. The country had been almost completely overrun by the Saracens in the eighth century, and the mediaeval period of Spanish history had been occupied with crusades<sup>2</sup> against the infidel. Step by step the Christians had advanced southward from the mountain strongholds in the Northwest of the peninsula, where they had never submitted to the Saracens. As the crusaders had moved forward small Roman Catholic principalities had appeared behind them,—independent, mutually jealous, united only by a fierce hatred of the common enemy. Castile, Leon, Navarre, Portugal and Aragon had all appeared during mediaeval times, while the Mohammedans, called Moors, were still in possession of the southern portion of the country. By and by the larger states began to assume authority over their smaller neighbors, until at the middle of the fifteenth century almost the entire Christian section of the country was under the control of Aragon and Castile, while the Mohammedan territory was limited to a single province in the South, Granada. This centralizing movement received a great impetus in 1469 by the marriage of Prince Ferdinand of Aragon and Princess Isabella of Castile. Through the Cortes, or National Assembly, they took away the special privileges of the separate principalities and Spain became an absolute monarchy. They conquered Granada and with the consent of the Pope they worked for further religious and political unity by introducing

<sup>1</sup> Read Scott's *Quentin Durward*.

<sup>2</sup> Romance tells of the wonderful deeds of The Cid, a half mythical leader of these Crusades.

**European  
Rivalry  
for the  
Possession  
of Italy.**

**The  
Unification  
of Spain.**

**Evil Effects  
of Spanish  
Absolute  
Rule.**



the Holy Inquisition, a terrible system of trial which gave the accused little chance of self-defense and secured its greatest result from the terror which it created. Terror did create uniformity, but at the expense of individual initiative and a healthy progress. Like England and France, unified Spain also looked abroad to foreign affairs; her rulers were vitally interested in the Italian question, her people became great navigators and merchants attracted by the profitable trade with the Orient.

Not all the European states became unified and independent at the beginning of modern times. Russia was still in the profound sleep which lasted until yesterday. Both Italy and Germany did not unite around any one king or under the leadership of any one principality, but remained in a state of decentralized weakness until less than fifty years ago. Italy was rich in 1500, her students and teachers taught Europe, her artists rivaled those of the Ancient World; but there was no racial or political unity in the peninsula. Italy became the prey of foreign powers, such as France, Spain, and the Hapsburg princes; and these rivals in fighting each other to secure possession of Italy often worked great injury upon that unhappy country.

**Undeveloped  
European  
Nations.**

Like Italy, Germany was in 1500 only a name. The territory was broken up into over two hundred states, some small, some great, and all were independent and jealous of each other. There was a much betitled Emperor, a German prince whose power scarcely reached beyond his own dominions; and of a common government there was no development worthy of the name. The indifference and weakness of Emperor Frederick III during his long reign from 1440 to 1493 plunged the Empire into anarchy.<sup>①</sup> In addition to the state divisions in Germany there were also many<sup>②</sup> free cities, which were as independent as the principalities, and owed allegiance to no one but the Emperor. The minute subdivision of German society was made still more apparent by the existence of a class of nobles known as the Knights of the Empire, who were responsible to the Emperor alone; they lived within the territories of the German princes but were beyond their authority. This excessive decentralization in German lands destroyed the influence of Germany as a European state until the time of Napoleon.

The above European states, unified and disunified, were to discover, explore, and colonize a new continent on the other side of the earth. The idea that the earth was round was as old as the teaching of Aristotle. Others of the ancients had claimed that India could be reached by sailing west from Europe, and they had accurately computed the distance around the earth. Strabo and Seneca had actually foretold the discovery of a continent in the midst of the Great Ocean. Unfortunately, the means of navigation of the

**Geograph-  
ical  
Knowledge  
of the  
Ancients.**

<sup>①</sup>Nevertheless his favorite device was "A. E. I. O. U." the initial letters of the German sentence "All the world is subject to Austria."

<sup>②</sup>Of these Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck still retain their rights under the present Empire.

ancients were limited, and the question remained for centuries but a philosopher's fancy. Indeed, the mediaeval world practically forgot all about the startling teaching, and only the Saracens kept the theory alive.

Of  
Mediaeval  
Scholars.

Mediaeval scholars thought that the earth was square, and that the sky was supported above it by four pillars placed at the corners. This square earth was bounded by impassable barriers, by ice on the North, by burning deserts on the South, by reedy, impenetrable swamps on the East, and by trackless ocean wastes on the West. This ocean was inhabited by great monsters capable of destroying ships; on the uttermost western boundary there was a great furnace, the fiery glow of which could be seen in the evenings when the sun plunged into its depths.

This childish mediaeval idea of the universe gradually gave way as geographical knowledge was added to bit by bit. In the first place, some Venetian merchants by the name of Polo made a remarkable overland trip to China at the close of the thirteenth century. On the way back to Europe they sailed around the southern coast of Asia as far as the Persian Gulf, and hence proved the existence of a great ocean on the eastern boundary of the world as then known. Marco Polo's account of the richness of Cathay, or China, and of the magic island of Zipangu (Japan) fired the imagination of the fanciful, and prepared the way for Columbus.

The Value  
of the  
Route to  
India.

Men of the fifteenth century were interested in the lands east of Europe for very material reasons. For many years caravans had been coming to Constantinople and other ports on the East Mediterranean with rich supplies of spices, precious stones, and oriental fabrics which found eager buyers in European markets. The Italian cities had grown very wealthy as forwarding points of these much coveted products. In 1453 the Turks captured the city of Constantinople, and in the vigor of conquest they pushed on westward until the entire eastern Mediterranean region was under Mohammedan control. At this same time European commerce with the East fell off and the Italian cities began to decline.

**The Explorations.**—When the land route to India thus failed, the cities of western Europe had an opportunity to break the long established Italian monopoly of oriental trade, if a sea route to the Far East could be found. The Portuguese took the lead in this quest, under the direction of a sailor king called Henry the Navigator. Bold seamen pushed farther and farther south along the west coast of Africa, hoping that they could find an opening eastward and strike the route of the Polos as they had returned from China. In 1486 an adventurous sailor by the name of Diaz actually did reach the extremity of the continent, and King Henry named the point the Cape of Good Hope. Shortly after this, Vasco da Gama rounded the cape, made his way to India and back again with a cargo, thus establishing the possibility of an easy sea route to the East. Other Portuguese sailors went westward and had a share in the exploration of the

The  
Portuguese.

New World, after Columbus had once shown the way. Cabral went across the Atlantic to Brazil in 1500, thus giving Portugal a claim to the eastern coast of South America. Magellan, a Portuguese in the Spanish service, sailed around Cape Horn and across the Pacific in 1521, being the first to circumnavigate the globe.

There was no strong government in Italy to test the striking geographical ideas of her sons Toscanelli<sup>1</sup> and Columbus, and so the latter turned to Spain. There was enough youthful enthusiasm in this new state to furnish support for even so strange a statement as that by sailing west one might ultimately reach the East. There were enough adventurous spirits on hand to man three ships to sail down hill, when there was little evidence that they would ever sail up again. This enthusiasm was not merely temporary, for scarcely had Columbus made his four voyages to the West Indies and the vicinity, when a great flood of energetic men followed after him, and carried the Spanish flag over immense stretches of territory.<sup>2</sup>

The  
Spanish.

By vigorous and often unscrupulous measures Cortez took possession of Mexico, and Pizarro of Peru; De Soto traversed the Gulf States and discovered the Mississippi; Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean; and Ponce de Leon went to Florida in search of youth and health. Other restless wanderers visited the dry plains east of the Rockies, or made their way northward along the Pacific coast. Some of these men were eager to find new lands and new adventures, others were interested in the conversion of the Indians, others were in search of gold,—but whether the motives were worthy or unworthy, the result was the same,—the New World was opened up to the admiration and the cupidity of the Old.

Under Francis I, grandson of Louis XI, France entered upon a period of vigorous national life. The ambitious young monarch not only fought with Charles V, the German Emperor, for a share of Italy, and intrigued with Henry VIII of England for the control of European policies, but he also took an interest in the world beyond the Atlantic. In 1524 he sent a Florentine sailor by the name of Verrazano to investigate the new lands. Verrazano explored the Atlantic coast between Nova Scotia and the Carolinas, and prepared a map of the region. French traders and missionaries soon followed him and penetrated to the heart of the continent. Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence waterway; Champlain founded Quebec in 1608, and discovered Lake Champlain; Marquette and Joliet traveled over the Great Lakes and the upper waters of the Mississippi; and finally, in 1682, La Salle followed the great river to its mouth. A host of

The French.

<sup>1</sup>Toscanelli was a great geographer and astronomer of Florence. Columbus wrote to him for advice on his plan to seek a westward route to India. Toscanelli approved the plan and gave Columbus a map which was the chart for his first voyage. Fortunately Toscanelli made the error of computing the distance from the Canaries to Japan as 2,500 instead of 12,000 miles.

<sup>2</sup>To avoid disputes between Spain and Portugal, Pope Alexander VI in 1493 divided the New World between those two powers. Portugal was to have all the territory east of the meridian three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.



minor explorers and traders finished the work and laid the basis for the French claims in the great colonial wars with England of the eighteenth century.

**The English.**

The English did the least of any of the leading European states in the exploration of America. Henry VII, the first Tudor, did indeed send out English navigators as early as 1497, but the Cabots landed in Labrador, the most inhospitable part of the Atlantic coast, and their discovery gave England only a technical claim to territory later fully explored by the French. Farther south on the Atlantic coast Raleigh and Gilbert actually attempted to establish colonies, but these were not well supported and soon perished. The most capable English sailors of the time, such as Drake and Hawkins, were more interested in making raids in Spain and in searching for Spanish treasure ships than they were in hunting for new lands. The result was that the sixteenth century closed with England<sup>①</sup> in the rear in the race for possession of the New World. It was only the excellent method of colonization which the English later developed which made them the leading colonial power in the eighteenth century.

Although behind other nations in the matter of actual lands explored England produced in Sir Francis Drake and Queen Elizabeth two striking personages, very characteristic of the period of exploration and discovery. Drake's fearlessness, his love of adventure, and his abounding energy were typical of the explorers in the New World. Elizabeth in her Macchiavellianism was a true child of her time.

**Sir Francis  
Drake.**

As a mere boy the great sea captain saw the persecution of his family by the Roman Catholic queen, Bloody Mary Tudor. As a youth he went on an expedition to Holland and learned to fear the cruelty of the Catholic Spaniards. Later he saw an example of Spanish treachery in the destruction of a number of English vessels lying off Vera Cruz. For revenge, and because he recognized in Spain the great enemy of England, he kept up a crusade against Spain for the remainder of his life. The account of his exploits against Philip II reads like the stupendous deeds of Homer's Greeks.<sup>②</sup> No odds of the enemy were too great, no dangers of unknown seas were too terrible for this lion-hearted man. He devastated the Spanish colonies in America, made his way around Cape Horn, captured rich treasure ships on the Pacific, and then sailed home to England by way of Asia. Later, when the great Spanish Armada was preparing to descend upon England, he raided the coast of Spain itself. With the utmost audacity he entered the harbor of Cadiz and under the very guns of the forts destroyed shipping and great quantities of supplies gathered there to fit out the great Armada. He then cruised along the Spanish coast until he had driven all commerce to cover. This celebrated "singeing of the Spanish king's

<sup>①</sup>Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the Dutch service, discovered the Hudson River in 1609, and Hudson Bay the next year.

<sup>②</sup>See Alfred Noyes' great epic, *Drake*.

beard" delayed the sailing of the Armada a full year and filled every Spanish navigator with a great fear of Drake, the "Dragon." It was a fear of his crushing, unexpected blows, and not of his cruelty or treachery, for he spared his prisoners and the defenseless. When, at last, in 1588, the great Spanish fleet bore down upon England, Drake was the man of the hour, the rescuer in the time of crisis. He led the English captains in fierce, hornet-like attacks and pressed the Spaniards northward day after day until they faced storms and shipwreck on the coast of Scotland. Though Drake's earlier expeditions have sometimes been called piratical, this last and greatest of his successes has placed him among the great builders of modern naval England.

Drake's sovereign mistress, Queen Elizabeth, also built largely and permanently on the foundations of modern England. This daughter of Anne Boleyn was surrounded by distrust and suspicion from childhood; more than once she narrowly escaped execution or assassination because of her nearness to the throne. She had many enemies in Scotland, Spain and France; the Pope and many Roman Catholics wished to see her replaced by her Catholic cousin, Mary Queen of Scots. Hence, her chief object, especially in the early years of her reign, was to keep her throne. In doing this she was often unscrupulous in her measures, and she did not hesitate to shift responsibility for acts peculiarly her own. Vain, coarse, obstinate, easily enraged, of consummate tact and shrewdness, she was a true Tudor, determined to make her will prevail. Her need of a strong central government, of the Protestant religion, of an efficient navy, of opposition to Spain, was exactly the need of England, and in selfishly maintaining her position on the throne she wrought mightily for England. Her success was the success of England and she became one of the most beloved of English sovereigns, commanding the loyalty of all classes of Englishmen. The Queen's many despotic and capricious acts did not destroy this loyalty; on the contrary, her people had much of the spirit of the Puritan Stubbs, who, when he had lost his right hand because of his belief, immediately took off his cap with his left, saying, "God save the Queen."

**Queen Elizabeth.**

The quickened imagination of the new age became evident in a number of very important inventions. Gunpowder, although probably known to the Orient in ancient times, was first employed in Europe in the fourteenth century. Its use soon became general and had far-reaching results. It completely changed the method of warfare, for it generally kept the armies at some distance from each other. Gunpowder helped to destroy feudalism, for no castle was proof against a continued bombardment, and feudal independence was secured largely by strong castle walls. Gunpowder also extended the use of war vessels; hence from its invention have come the great modern navies and many of the problems connected with modern sea power. The invention of printing<sup>1</sup> widely spread the

**Inventions Aided Progress.**

<sup>1</sup> Simple printing by means of wooden blocks was known much earlier. Some German printers of Mayence used the first printing press with movable type about 1450.

new geographical and other scientific information which men had obtained; books were reduced four-fifths in price, and popular reading matter became possible. The knowledge thus gained stimulated men to go further and do some of the things which we look upon as the accomplishments of the Modern Age. The invention of the compass allowed the sailor to go far out of sight of land; the telescope opened up the heavens; the discovery of a better method of producing iron opened the way for the world wide modern use of iron and steel.

The period of exploration and discovery lasted approximately a century and a half. During that time Mediterranean trade decayed and the Italian cities suffered a decline; Spain and Portugal were at the height of their influence, their cities became the centers of trade and wealth. Missionaries carried Christianity to distant parts of the world; scientific knowledge grew in volume; sea power began to develop. On the other hand, the evil results of the period were unpleasantly numerous. The fables from the New World started a craze for wealth without labor. This desire not only led to the shameless exploitation of new lands, but stirred up a bitter rivalry among nations, which resulted in many butcheries and in the wholesale destruction of property, even in time of peace. The European states, while gaining empires abroad maintained at home the most crushing despotism. The stores of gold and silver drawn from the New World increased the amount of money, especially in Spain. This condition gave an unhealthy speculative stimulus to prices, which later seriously injured Spanish industry. However, these evils were not apparent in the sixteenth century, and in the intoxication of the new wealth Spain seemed extremely prosperous, because the new possessions promised only advantages. For Europe as a whole it is certainly true that, in spite of the resulting evils, the greatest event of centuries was the discovery and exploration of the New World.

Results of  
the Period.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. The Italian Cities in 1500. | 5. Louis XI of France.         |
| 2. Toscanelli.                 | 6. The Aztecs.                 |
| 3. Early Map Making.           | 7. The First Printing.         |
| 4. The Moors in Granada.       | 8. The Fall of Constantinople. |



## CHAPTER II.

### THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

GERMANY IN 1500.

As we have already seen, the government of Germany was in a pitiable state in 1500. Disintegration and weakness were the characteristics of other German institutions also. A widespread spirit of jealousy and distrust made common action impossible. The Emperor and the German princes were mutually jealous, for the powers of each were increased only at the expense of the other. The knights were jealous of the princes, the peasants disliked the nobles, the cities were wealthier than the country districts and tried to regulate trade, and were consequently hated by the country. Finally, great numbers of people, in all classes, distrusted the Roman Catholic Church. People were jealous of the Pope and of the church dignitaries,—jealous of their wealth and powers. The Church interfered in the most of men's activities from birth to death, and it drew a golden stream of revenue year after year from Germany in the form of fees and church taxes of various kinds. To make matters worse, the German people knew that the church dignitaries often looked down upon them, as being worthy of nothing better than to furnish money to support the Roman Church.

**Discontent  
in German  
Society.**

Although the German people were in 1500 unsympathetic toward the Church, they were not irreligious. They were by nature religious; they had a sense of responsibility and a tendency to inquire into the reality of things. Reform movements during mediaeval history had found lasting support in Germany. The great Hussite agitation at the beginning of the fifteenth century had profoundly shaken Bohemia and neighboring lands, and although the Church of Rome had successfully reasserted its authority, there remained a great measure of discontent. People began to feel that the old Church did not supply the real wants of the human soul; there was a popular yearning for a source of more real religion.

**Evils in the Church.**—One of the reasons for the dissatisfaction with the Roman Church, in other countries as well as in Germany, was its excessive and growing formalism. People felt that too much emphasis was placed upon outward acts and too little upon a righteous life. The custom of making pilgrimages and of heaping up relics;<sup>1</sup> the use of jubilee gatherings in Rome, at first every century and later every twenty-five years, as the Popes came to be in greater need of money; the doctrine of purgatory—that departed souls were held for a time, on probation as it were, until the evil in them should be cleared

<sup>1</sup> Frederick the Wise of Saxony had a collection of over 5,000 objects, enough to secure absolution for him during a period of half a million years. Among these were some straw from The Manger, some skin from the face of St. Bartholomew, and fragments of Aaron's rod.

away,—all of these practices and teachings tended to make the mediaeval man give regard to the form of his daily acts, rather than to the motive for them. The doctrine of a Treasury of Grace,<sup>①</sup>—that a kind of divine bookkeeping held an account with each individual on earth,—encouraged men to increase the deposits of formal goodness. Furthermore, when the ignorant or the careless taught that deposits of grace might be made by one person for others, even for those long dead, they reached a point which was revolting to seekers after real religion.

Not only did the theory of the Roman Church produce dissatisfaction in 1500, but the Clergy themselves were often deficient in practice. True, there were numbers of worthy men who were sincerely devoted to their religious work and had the confidence of the people; the indifference and personal corruption of church officers have probably been exaggerated; but a discouraging amount of real wrong and inefficiency there undoubtedly was, and no account of the period would be fair which leaves it out of consideration. Furthermore, the people accepted the stories<sup>②</sup> of the corruption of the clergy at their face value, and this belief of the common people is an important thing to consider in making out the causes of the Reformation. The evil habit of simony, or the sale of church offices, opened up the most sacred functions to most incapable men. Pluralism, or the custom of allowing one person to hold several appointments, excited the greed of the covetous, and made it a necessity that great offices be served by minor officers. The law of celibacy was the cause of a great amount,—just how much we can never know,—of personal impurity among the servants of the Church. The election of Pope was often a shameless affair, in which votes were bought in the most scandalous manner. Sometimes the Pope himself was personally vicious and unfaithful to his vows. Alexander VI was guilty of many of the crimes in the criminal calendar. He bought his election as Pope; he was the father of a terrible brood of criminal children, one of whom, Caesar Borgia, he made cardinal by open perjury. Leo X was a luxury loving pagan who patronized art<sup>③</sup> and was more than suspected of a part in a Florentine assassination; Julius II<sup>④</sup> was a soldier whose aim was to keep the barbarian French out of Italy and to increase the temporal power of the Pope.

**The Educational Revolution.**—The educational conditions in Germany also played a part in preparing for the Reformation. There was no general popular education in the modern sense, but the Church maintained schools, primarily for the training of those who

<sup>①</sup>Heavy deposits had ostensibly been made in this treasury by Christ and the saints. Upon this surplus needy sinners might draw, but only through St. Peter and his successor, the Pope.

<sup>②</sup>An Archbishop of Magdeburg did not celebrate Mass until he had been in office thirty-five years. The clergy sometimes even shared in the profits of vice resorts. Nunneries were often simply centers of frivolity and dissipation.

<sup>③</sup>He sold indulgences in Germany in order to secure funds for the completion of St. Peter's in Rome.

<sup>④</sup>Julius took his name in honor of Julius Caesar.

were to become priests. Of course, the few educated governors and the secular scholars of the time also went to these schools, but the instruction was all ecclesiastical in tendency. The method of arranging and imparting the knowledge of the schools was as dry and formal as the religious practice of the time. Historians today call this method of instruction the scholastic, and Scholasticism is the term applied to the system as a whole. It took ascertained knowledge and even tradition as a basis and from such grounds tried to reason out new propositions of truth by means of the processes of logic. It was the method of geometry applied to all subjects. It left no place for experiment and made it difficult to acquire new facts. This manner of reasoning often brought scholars to subjects far removed from the practical things of everyday life; such an example was the famous question concerning the number of spirits which could stand on the point of a needle.<sup>1</sup>

**Scholasticism.**

When knowledge increased very rapidly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, men's minds were stimulated, and a new method of study appeared. Many scholars were no longer content to say, "Since x is true, then y must be true," but they began to say, "Is x really so? Our fathers said that it was true, but is it true for today?" This method was called the humanistic; in science it introduced the experiment, for men really wanted to see if a scorpion surrounded by a circle of fire would really commit suicide by stinging itself to death, as mediaeval science had taught. Tradition had affirmed the truth of the statement, but the Humanists were not ready to proclaim it as a fact for themselves. This inquiring spirit went beyond the field of science out into all phases of life. The question, "What is truth?" came to be the guiding principle of the humanistic scholar. The connection between this spirit of inquiry and the Church was intimate, for Humanists began to ask, "What is true Christianity? Is it to be found in the Scriptures, or in the writings of the Church Fathers? If in the Scriptures, what do the Scriptures really say?" As a result, the study of Greek and Hebrew, and the examination of old texts began with enthusiasm.

**Humanism.**

Of course, the two rival systems could not develop peaceably side by side, and a bitter warfare sprang up between them. In Germany the Scholastics concentrated their fire upon John Reuchlin, a great scholar, who had not only refused to condemn Jewish writings, as the Church did, but had actually urged the study of Hebrew and had himself eagerly examined the Scriptures in Greek and Hebrew in order to learn what the Bible really taught. This attitude had often brought him into conflict with the church traditions, and the teachings of the Church Fathers, and hence he was venomously attacked by the Scholastics. He was loyally supported by his brother Humanists by pen and speech, and his party more than held their own in the dispute by the publication in 1517 of a

<sup>1</sup>Another subject of discussion was whether God could have taken the form of a pumpkin instead of that of a man; if so, how the pumpkin had spoken and what miracles it would have performed.



**"The Letters  
of Obscure  
Men."**

very witty book called "The Letters of Obscure Men."<sup>1</sup> This jumble of German and bad Latin set all Germany to laughing at the embarrassed Scholastics, and added to the popular revolt against the Church, for the Scholastics were its direct representatives.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE WORK OF MARTIN LUTHER.

**Early Life  
of Martin  
Luther.**

In 1483 there was born in a small village of Thuringia a boy who was to have a mighty influence upon the distressed German people. He was to come face to face with the evil conditions outlined above; he was to profit from the results of causes at work long before his birth. He was to take advantage of the discontent in Germany, become a national hero and lead his people in a movement which profoundly influenced later history. Martin Luther was born of peasant parents, of pure Germanic stock; he was a rough, young oak, with his roots deep in German soil. Rough, brutal, vigorous, earnest, pious—he was a man of the people, in sympathy with the average man of his time. In his early school days Luther showed marked ability, and his father wished him to study law; but he himself was more concerned over his soul's welfare and disappointed his family by becoming a monk of the Augustinian Order at Erfurt. Not even in the monastery could Luther find peace; he went through a long period of soul searching, which did not quiet his doubts, but nevertheless won him the confidence of his superiors because of his seriousness. The vicar of the Augustinians secured him an appointment in the new University of Wittenberg in 1508 and later sent him to Rome on business connected with the Order. Luther went to "Holy Rome" with feelings of awe, and with a real reverence for the Holy Father, but he was shocked and disappointed at the luxury and worthlessness of the men at the papal court. As a result of his Roman experience he was thrown back once more upon himself to explain how righteousness could be gained. He thus worked out his famous doctrine of justification by faith, or individual responsibility in matters of salvation. On his return to Germany, he became town preacher of Wittenberg and professor in the University. At this time he was studying closely the writings of St. Paul and St. Augustine.

**Tetzel and  
Indulgences.**

In 1517 a papal agent by the name of Tetzel made his way through Saxony near Wittenberg, selling indulgences. These papers were certificates from the Pope, freeing persons from certain forms of penance laid upon them for sins which they had confessed. The indulgence was also sometimes extended to souls already in purgatory, and the belief was that the departed spirit might have a shortened period of probationary punishment because some one still living had bought an indulgence. The theory did not teach that the Pope

<sup>1</sup>Purporting to have been written by the Scholastics, these letters disclose the ignorance and narrowness of the party.

<sup>2</sup>Other great Humanists were John Colet, Thomas More, and Erasmus of Rotterdam. Erasmus was the greatest scholar of his time. His "Praise of Folly" attacked the abuses of the Church, but he never turned against Rome, and he hated to be called a Lutheran.

forgave sins, he only set sinners free from certain punishments for sin, but to the common mind there was no difference. The custom of selling indulgences was not a new one, but it happened that in 1517 both the Pope and the Archbishop of Mayence, were in great need of money. Therefore, they developed the indulgence market to unheard of limits. With the fervor of an evangelist, Tetzel pictured the sufferings for sin, but added, comfortingly, that as the coin rattled into the strong box, the soul would fly out of purgatory. Some of Tetzel's indulgences came under Luther's notice; he saw that their owners had only the grossest ideas concerning what they had bought, and so he was moved to attack the abuse. Following the custom of the time, he wrote out ninety-five theses, or propositions, and nailed them up on the church door at Wittenberg, as a challenge to Tetzel for a public debate.

Luther's theses contained no attack upon the Pope, and he had no idea of being disloyal to the Church; he even accepted the theory of the indulgence. Nevertheless, his act caught the popular fancy, and the great discontent of the time immediately formed a party behind him as a leader. Before he knew it, he was fighting both Pope and Church, and had been forced into positions which he had not at first foreseen. In 1519 the able Catholic theologian, Eck, induced Luther to assert in a disputation in Leipzig, that both the Pope and the church councils had been guilty of errors in the past. This admission classed him as a Hussite and a heretic, and he reluctantly acknowledged the fact himself, although his teachings closely followed St. Paul and St. Augustine. Fortunately, the terrible name "heretic" did not frighten people away from him; for two years of controversy had given him an immense popularity. His hesitating act of posting the theses against indulgences in 1517 had fired all Germany as suddenly as a great parched prairie is set ablaze by a tiny flame.

**Popular  
Support of  
Luther.**

When Luther once realized that a continuation of his course meant a contest with the Roman Church, he took up the task with earnestness. The year 1520, following his debate with Eck, was his Great Year. He preached with vigor and published several strong pamphlets, explaining his position and dealing bludgeon-like blows against the Church of Rome. In his "Appeal to the German Nobility" he called upon the German princes to lessen the powers of the Roman Church in Germany. In the "Babylonish Captivity" he mercilessly exposed the corrupt places in the old church. When the Pope replied with a bull of excommunication against Luther, he took the document along with some volumes of church law, and burned them in a public bonfire in Wittenberg. His students joined him loyally around the fire, and both people and princes were drawn to him by his courageous stand.

**Luther  
Declares  
War on the  
Roman  
Church.**

By this time the revolt against Rome had gained such headway that Luther did not need to devote any further effort to give it momentum. His greatest concern after 1521 was that of the pilot taking a great ship into port; he had to avoid obstacles on every

**Luther  
Refuses  
to Confuse  
Church and  
Political  
Reforms.**

side and steer between two extremes—in this case between a too radical attack upon the Roman clergy and Roman property in Germany, and entanglement with some sort of political reform. His task was to keep his eye fixed solely on church reform through the help of the princes of Germany.

Therefore, in 1522 he left off his translation of the Bible in the safe retreat of the Wartburg, and preached against Carlstadt and the Anabaptists in Wittenberg. Carlstadt had been a former supporter of Luther but he had begun to preach violence against the Roman opponents, and Luther hastily and vigorously cast him off. About the same time the Knights of the Empire organized a revolt against the church princes of Germany, especially against the Archbishop of Treves. The Humanist, Ulrich von Hutten, was a leader of the revolt and hoped for Luther's support. Notwithstanding the fact that both Luther and the Knights had a common enemy in the Roman Church, there were many other elements in this movement besides church reform. Luther accordingly held aloof, the revolt failed, the Knights were crushed; and after all traces of the uprising had disappeared the movement for church reform went steadily forward.

**The  
Peasants'  
Revolt.**

Again in 1525, the peasants in southern Germany rose in a bloody revolt against the nobles, and looked to Luther, the peasant leader and writer, for support. They published their demands in a document called the Twelve Articles, in which they called for economic and social, as well as church reforms. These demands were moderate enough to claim the support of all reasonable men, but Luther refused<sup>1</sup> to be connected with a political movement; on the contrary, he urged the princes to put down the uprising, even in blood. This advice the threatened princes followed with right good will with the result that thousands of peasants were butchered, while the movement collapsed utterly. When the last echoes of the disorder had died away, Luther found himself with a stronger following than ever.

#### THE EMPEROR CHARLES V AND THE REFORMATION.

By 1521 Luther had attracted the attention of the young Emperor, Charles V. This ruler of five realms was devoted to the Church, and in spite of the thousand and one cares which pressed in upon him, he early set out to uproot the Lutheran heresy in Germany. He summoned a diet of all the leading princes to meet in the old imperial city of Worms. He called Luther before this body and ordered him to renounce his heretical teachings. Luther stood his ground; face to face with the Emperor and with many enemies in the diet, with the fate of John Huss apparently in store for him also, he stubbornly refused to compromise. As a result the diet put

**The Diet of  
Worms, 1521.**

<sup>1</sup>Luther was sharply criticized for his betrayal of the peasants. He was partly responsible for the outbreak, for he had preached against both the lesser nobles and the clergy.



him under the ban of the Empire.<sup>①</sup> His writings were ordered burned, and no person was to shelter him or aid him in any way. Luther's friends in the diet could not secure a modification of these harsh terms, and to save his life, some agents of Frederick the Wise, Duke of Saxony, kidnaped him on his way home from Worms. They shut him up in the picturesque castle of the Wartburg, where he stayed almost a year, occupying his time by translating the Bible<sup>②</sup> into German, thus giving the common people a chance to read the Scriptures for themselves.

Even with Luther in this seclusion, the defection from Rome gathered strength month by month; and yet the Emperor was unable to execute the decree of the Diet of Worms. Immediately after the dissolution of that body Charles V was compelled to hasten to other parts of his vast dominions, and for years he was kept busy with other matters. He engaged in a long contest with the king of France for possession of Italy; he was busy with a serious revolt in Spain; at another time, the Pope, fearing him more than Luther, actually joined a league of his enemies.<sup>③</sup> These purely Roman Catholic obstacles kept Charles V away from Germany long enough to allow Lutheranism to take deep root. In this way the strongest allies of the Reformation were found among the Roman Catholics themselves. During this long absence of the Emperor the first diet of Spire in 1526 allowed each prince to determine which church his state would adopt. With this advantage Lutheranism grew more rapidly than ever.

**The  
Allies of the  
Reforma-  
tion.**

Charles V was not yet reconciled to the establishment of the heresy in Germany. When, at last, in 1529 he was again free to consider German affairs, he summoned the second diet of Spire. Here the Roman Catholics were still the stronger party and under the Emperor's influence they voted to withdraw the rights granted to the princes three years before, and to proceed against the heretics with force. Against this decision the smaller party drew up a strong protest,<sup>④</sup> and therefore received the name, "Protestants." The protest was disregarded, but in spite of the Catholic victory in the diet, Charles was again unable to execute the decree of the Diet of Worms, for he was just then compelled to ask the German princes for troops to use against the Turks. In 1530 he summoned another diet at Augsburg and himself attended in a conciliatory spirit. He asked the Protestants to present a statement of their beliefs, in the hope that a basis could be found for a compromise with the mother

<sup>①</sup>The form of outlawry ran something like the following: "We declare thy wife a widow and thy children orphans; thy private property we give to thy children; and we devote thy body and flesh to the beasts of the forest and fowls of the air. In all ways and in every place where others find peace and safety, thou shalt find none; and we banish thee into the four roads of the world—in the devil's name."

<sup>②</sup>This Luther Bible became one of the models of German prose.

<sup>③</sup>In return Charles V permitted a terrible sack of Rome in 1527 by German and Spanish mercenaries; he had not ordered this outrage, but he profited by the weakening of the Pope.

<sup>④</sup>Signed by six princes and the representatives of fourteen cities.

church. The Protestant leaders stated their faith in a form known in later times as the Augsburg Confession. This was largely the work of Philip Melancthon, Luther's close associate, who was the more conciliatory of the two leaders. The Confession was definite and moderate, but the religious revolt had lasted too long to allow a reunion of the broken parts of the Church. The Roman party would make no concession, and the Emperor therefore gave the Protestants six months in which to submit. If they failed to comply, he stated that he would "do his duty" and "avenge the shame inflicted on the Lord Christ."

The  
Religious  
Peace of  
Nuremburg.

There was really no great danger. Charles was not strong enough to carry out his threat, for he needed a united Germany to fight Sultan Suleiman who was advancing on Vienna. The Protestants, too, formed the League of Smalkald to protect themselves, should the Emperor try to use force against them. Furthermore, the Pope refused to call a church council to deal with the German heresy, and so Charles was compelled to consent to the peace of Nuremburg in 1532. In this treaty the decision of the first diet of Spire was reaffirmed: the individual princes might determine whether their lands were to be Roman Catholic or Protestant. Under these conditions Protestantism spread rapidly during the remaining years of Luther's life. Before his death in 1546, he firmly established his reform by placing the new church under the control of the princes. The prince in each state appointed a council, or consistory, which had complete control of the clergy and the church schools. This organization solidly arrayed the Protestant princes against the Emperor and his plans for the extirpation of the German heresy. It was well that they were united, for in 1547 Charles and the Pope finally combined their forces to destroy Protestantism as well as to break the political power of the German princes. Under the skillful leadership of Maurice of Saxony, a Protestant prince who was aiding the Emperor in order to win territory for himself in Germany, they crushed the Smalkald League and either captured or scattered the Protestant princes. In his moment of triumph Charles was too severe, and, in addition, the Pope once more turned against him. Maurice of Saxony also faced about with his army to aid the Protestants and forced Charles to fly unceremoniously from Germany in order to avoid capture. He was compelled to admit himself a beaten man. The Turks and the Pope, the revolts in Catholic Spain, the wars with the Catholic king of France, had given respite to Lutheranism long enough for it to grow into an unconquerable force. Broken in health, Charles abdicated his many thrones, resigned his many titles, and limped away into a monastery. His brother Ferdinand succeeded him as Emperor, and in 1555 signed the peace of Augsburg, which settled the religious question in Germany for the remainder of the century.

Charles  
Defeats the  
League of  
Smalkald.

The  
Treaty of  
Augsburg.

The treaty of Augsburg contained two great provisions on the religious question. The first of these had already been promulgated by the first diet of Spire in the Latin form,—*cuius regio, eius*

religio,—which meant that the prince in control of a state might determine whether his people should be Roman Catholics or followers of Luther. This agreement did not mean religious toleration in the modern sense, for the prince might persecute at will those of his subjects who disagreed with him in religious matters. Furthermore, no toleration of any sort was to be shown to other Protestant sects than the Lutherans. The second important provision of the great treaty was known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation,<sup>1</sup> which declared that all church property under the control of priests who might go over to Lutheranism after 1555 should remain in the possession of the Roman Catholic church. The purpose of this stipulation was that conversions to Protestantism should cause no financial loss to the older church. Unfortunately, it was not possible to enforce this rule in a Protestant state, and we shall see that the widespread appropriation of church property by the reformers in the following years was a cause of desperate fighting in the Thirty Years' War of the next century.

The German Reformation was not a period clearly marked off by itself. It did not begin or end in any one year. Its causes can be traced back, far earlier than the time of Luther, in a growing discontent which sprang from a number of important influences. Its results, direct and indirect, extended far beyond the limits of Germany, after the death of Luther,—and they are still vitally operative even to the present day. In a social way, the Reformation deeply influenced the common people by causing them to think more for themselves. This independent spirit affected the schools and teaching of the time and denied the authority of tradition in education. Politically, the period of the Reformation strengthened the power of the princes, correspondingly weakened the central government, and hence, delayed the unification of Germany. The greatest result of the reform in Germany, the religious and ecclesiastical, was the creation of a new church, based upon the idea of an individual responsibility to God. This emphasis of the importance of individuals transferred to political affairs, has very deeply influenced the governmental institutions of England and America by making them more democratic. Finally, the creation of a new church startled the older one into a new life, with a resulting healthy counter reformation within the Roman Catholic church.

**Results  
of the  
Reforma-  
tion in  
Germany.**

### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Erasmus.         | 5. Pope Leo X.          |
| 2. The Wartburg.    | 6. St. Peter's in Rome. |
| 3. Melancthon.      | 7. The Twelve Articles. |
| 4. Sultan Suleiman. |                         |

<sup>1</sup>This Reservation was merely promulgated by Ferdinand; it was not accepted by the Protestants.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE REFORMATION OUTSIDE OF GERMANY.

**In Switzerland.**—The reform movement in Switzerland was centralized in two important cities, Zurich and Geneva. In the former the leading spirit was Ulrich Zwingli, whose career has many points for comparison with that of Luther. Both men were vigorous and earnest, and fearlessly attacked what they thought was wrong in the Roman Church; both went to the Scriptures for their authority in religious matters; but Zwingli was the better scholar of the two. Both men were driven to oppose the Pope by the abuse of the indulgences under Leo X. They came to make almost the same demand as to reforms—the return to the primitive church of the Apostles by the abolition of Roman abuses. Their only marked difference in belief was concerning the nature of the Lord's Supper. They differed as to methods, for Zwingli was more than a religious reformer, and he did not have Luther's dread of political questions. Hence he sought to unify the various cantons of Switzerland in one compact state, and he preached against the sale of Swiss mercenaries to European governments.

Zwingli in  
Zurich.

As a country priest in Glarus, as early as 1506, Zwingli had opposed the recruiting of these mercenaries for the Pope. A little later he began to preach against pilgrimages and the sale of indulgences. In 1519 he was called to the cathedral of Zurich and he at once drove out the indulgence agent there by his powerful sermons against the practice. The government of Zurich supported him in his reforms, and in 1523 he published his principles in sixty-seven theses, in which he denied the authority of the Pope and the doctrine of purgatory. The Zurich Council soon afterwards abolished the use of images and the Mass.

Although some Swiss districts received these reform principles cordially, the four Forest Cantons remained loyal to Rome. To the religious schism were added political differences and the condition soon led to civil war. Zurich took the leadership of the Confederation of Swiss cantons in the war, and Zwingli was chaplain of the Zurich troops. In the battle of Kappel in 1531, the Roman Catholics were victorious and Zwingli lost his life. Switzerland remained part reformed, part Catholic; Zurich lost much of its importance through the death of Zwingli, and the leadership of Swiss Protestantism soon fell to Geneva and John Calvin.

Calvin's  
Rule  
in Geneva.

At this same time Geneva was a prosperous, thriving city just over the Eastern French border. It was a refuge for men who were either too good or too bad to be tolerated in France. Thither in 1536 went John Calvin, a noted French theologian. French Protestants were not tolerated by the government, and numbers of them, like Calvin, were forced to flee to other countries. Geneva



was radical enough to take up with Calvin's teachings,<sup>1</sup> and he soon found himself as completely in control of Geneva as Zwingli had been of Zurich. By his direction a theocracy, or union of church and state, was organized under the control of a body of twelve, called the Consistory. The rule of this council was most despotic and austere, reaching even into the most minute private affairs.<sup>2</sup> The penalties for violation of its decrees were very severe, and religious dissenters were persecuted out of the city. The heavy hand of the Consistory even fell upon strangers in Geneva. A famous Spanish physician and theologian named Servetus appeared in Geneva at this time, and Calvin threw him into prison because he denied the doctrine of the Trinity. Though themselves classed as heretics by Rome, the stern reform government then condemned Servetus to death for his heresy, and later burned him at the stake.<sup>3</sup> This act shows how little real toleration there was at that time even among the broadest minded men.

Calvin's church kept free from the movement for a political union of Switzerland, but it had no great country to develop in as Lutheranism had in Germany. Nevertheless, the Calvinistic reform has had a profound influence on later times. Many Scotch and Dutch reformers learned their first lessons at Geneva; when they went back to their native lands they established the Calvinistic Church there also. In this way Calvin's teachings spread all over the world, for the Dutch and English colonies were full of the spirit of religious reform. Calvinism denied the authority of the Pope and of church council, and made a little democracy out of each congregation. Unlike Luther's system, it gave the control of the church, not to a prince, but to the church members themselves. From such an ecclesiastical democracy it was but a short step to political democracy as it developed at a later time. Calvin's reform was a forerunner of the French Revolution and American democracy.

**In England.**—The reformation of the Church in England was brought about by totally different influences, and showed quite different results, from what we have seen on the Continent. It is true that, as in Germany, the Humanists had prepared the way; Colet and More had created an enthusiasm for the New Learning, and Greek was eagerly studied at Oxford and Cambridge. Nevertheless, the majority of the English people were still loyal to Rome; Luther's doctrines were not cordially received. King Henry VIII even wrote a reply to Luther, and for this the Pope gave him the title of Defender of the Faith. This was in 1521, and yet within the very next year Henry took steps which led to his complete denial of the authority of the Pope.

**The  
Democracy  
of  
Calvinism.**

<sup>1</sup> Calvin's theological ideas were contained in his famous work, "The Institutes of Christianity." It is the greatest book of the Reformation period.

<sup>2</sup> The Consistory regulated dress and even decreed what the people should eat. Of course, card playing and theater going were forbidden; in one instance some girls were arrested for skating; a man met the same fate for sniffing in church.

<sup>3</sup> In 1903 an expiatory column was set up in Geneva in memory of Servetus.

**The  
Divorce of  
Henry VIII.**

The change came about because of a divorce. Henry VIII had no son by his queen, Catherine of Aragon, a Spanish princess and aunt of the Emperor Charles V. All of Henry's children had died excepting the frail princess Mary, and he was eager for an heir who would give stability to his rule. So he remembered that his queen was also his brother's widow, and his suddenly awakened scruples caused him to appeal to the Pope for a divorce. His interest in the matter was also increased by the fact that he had become attached to Anne Boleyn, one of the maids-of-honor at the court. He entrusted the divorce negotiations to his prime minister, Wolsey, who was also a cardinal in the Church. Wolsey did not succeed well on his mission to Pope Clement VII because of the relationship between Charles V and Catherine. The Emperor had so much power over the Pope at this time that the Holy Father simply negotiated with Wolsey and did nothing.

**Henry  
Removes  
the English  
Church  
from Papal  
Control.**

Neither Henry's imperious spirit nor his passion for Anne Boleyn would submit to such delay, and he took matters into his own hands. In 1529 he disgraced Wolsey for his failure to annul the marriage with Queen Catherine. He then forced a decree of divorce from the English universities, married the maid-of-honor and had the act ratified by his obedient Parliament. The Pope refused to recognize such a divorce and Henry, acting through Parliament, in the following years entirely removed the English Church from papal control. At first he cut off some of the church taxes which regularly went to Rome. In 1533 Parliament passed an act forbidding all appeals to any court outside of England. In 1535 it passed the Act of Supremacy, making King Henry the supreme head on earth of the English Church. The next year Henry authorized the translation of the Scriptures into English, and in 1539 Parliament passed a law known as the Six Articles, stating what should be the orthodox teachings of the English Church. They did not include the doctrine of purgatory, but all of the six doctrines emphasized as cardinal teachings were at this same time held by the Roman Church. Finally, Henry established his church reforms by dissolving many monasteries, and giving their lands to the English nobility. Thereafter, whenever the question arose of a return to the Roman authority, the English sovereign was always sure of the support of all those English lords who had received land by this grant.

**The  
Reforma-  
tion  
in England  
and  
in Germany.**

Henry's reform of the Church in England was only one of church government; the reform in Germany was a change of both government and teachings. The reform of the English Church was from the head downward,—it reached the people last; the reform in Germany was from the bottom upward,—it was a popular movement first, and the Great Ones accepted it only when they saw that it would make them politically stronger. The reform in England sprang in the first place from personal motives; there was no widespread discontent with the Church as there was in Germany. Whatever discontent prevailed in England was due to the tyrannical rule of Henry in other than church matters.



Because there was no great doctrinal change in England during the reign of Henry VIII, we should not conclude that the change never took place. Succeeding sovereigns carried on the work until the English and the Roman churches were widely separated in doctrines.<sup>1</sup> Henry VIII was finally rejoiced by the gift of a son from one of his numerous wives, and this son, Edward VI, although in power but five years, started England on the road toward real doctrinal changes. He was only a boy, but he was precocious; he was an earnest Protestant, and his Protestant wishes were carried out by a vigorous Protestant uncle who had charge of the government as regent. This administration of uncle and nephew abolished such Roman forms as the use of incense and holy water and the practice of celibacy. The orthodox teachings of the Church were published as the Forty-two Articles of faith, and the church services were simplified and turned into English by the compilation of the Prayer Book in practically the same form as we have it today.

**England  
Becomes  
Protestant  
Under  
Edward VI.**

Mary Tudor, half sister of Edward VI and daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was an opponent of these church reforms. In her brief reign from 1553 to 1558, she tried to undo everything that had been done against the Church by her father and brother. She re-established the Roman worship as the state religion of England and she bitterly persecuted the Protestants. However, her zeal was too great and her reign was too short to attain her end. The number of her executions gave her the name of Bloody Mary, and the position and worth of some of her victims produced a revulsion of feeling against the church which she represented. At heart the English people had as yet no great fear of popery, and a politic leader might have brought the country once more under the authority of Rome. Mary did succeed in establishing this formal union for a short time, but not until the Pope had recognized the right of the English nobility to hold the lands which Henry VIII had taken from the monasteries.

**Mary Tudor,  
the Roman  
Catholic.**

The great Queen Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, soon obliterated the traces of Mary's persecution. During her long reign from 1558 to 1603, England separated once and for all from the Roman church. Elizabeth herself had no very definite religious convictions, but she had no choice in the matter. She was forced by circumstances to support the work of her father, for she was the Reformation in flesh and blood. If she denied the English reform movement, she denied her own legitimacy, and hence her right to the throne. Similarly, the Roman Catholics of England and the Catholic states of Europe were obliged to oppose Elizabeth's claim to the throne for they denied the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. This fact explains the attack of the Spanish Armada upon England in 1588. Philip II of Spain fitted out this immense fleet, partly to avenge the attacks upon Spanish commerce by English privateers like Drake, but also in the hope that he would

**Elizabeth  
Opposes  
Roman  
Catholicism.**

<sup>1</sup>The change in England was largely a reversion to the purer teachings of the early English church.

be able to overthrow Elizabeth and the reform party in England. The religious question was also at the bottom of the long rivalry between Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots. Mary was personally no more religious than Elizabeth, but she was related to the Tudors and therefore could claim the throne of England. As a Roman Catholic she was the hope of the entire Catholic party in Europe. As long as Mary was alive, and especially while she lived in England after her expulsion from Scotland, she was a menace to the position of Elizabeth. Plots multiplied against the life of Elizabeth and finally in self-defense she removed her rival from the stage. Nevertheless, she was extremely careful in this as in other matters which affected the Catholics and Protestants, and her reign was so nearly nonpartisan that finally both religious parties rallied to the support of her government. Lord Howard, the English admiral in the repulse of the Armada, was a Catholic. Elizabeth's Parliament changed the Forty-two Articles to the Thirty-nine Articles<sup>1</sup> of the present English Church.

**The Reformation in Scotland.**—Scotland, although geographically a part of England, had a different history during the Reformation. The Scotch rulers were fervent Roman Catholics closely allied with Catholic France. They persecuted those persons who first adopted reformed doctrines, and yet vigorous preachers continued to stir up discontent with Rome. Among these reform leaders was John Knox who spent nearly two years in the French galleys because of his teachings. After that experience he lived some years in Geneva with Calvin, and in 1559 he went back to Scotland. It was a critical time, for the Catholic queen regent was on the point of crushing out the Reform. Knox preached violently against the Roman Church, general rioting followed and led to civil war. The queen called in French troops, while the Scots were aided by Queen Elizabeth, for she could not afford to let France and the Roman Catholics triumph in Scotland. The war ended in favor of the reformers, and in 1560 the Scotch Parliament made the reformed faith the established church in Scotland. To this church John Knox gave Calvinistic doctrines and a Genevan liturgy.

Mary Queen  
of Scots.

In 1561 Mary Stuart returned from France as Queen of the Scots. She was a Roman Catholic and a claimant for the throne of England. Her beauty and cleverness made her momentarily popular, but the reformers were vigilant and attacked even her private celebration of the Mass. Knox not only preached against her religion, but, in an interview with her, harshly criticized her personal conduct. Mary attempted to unite the Catholics of England and Scotland by marrying her Catholic cousin, Lord Darnley, next to her in the succession to both the English and Scottish crowns. Mary's ambitious plans alarmed the Protestants, and her later complicity in Darnley's murder alienated the rest of the nation and left her

<sup>1</sup>These articles denied the papal supremacy and transubstantiation; they opposed celibacy, image worship, and five of the seven sacraments of the Mediaeval Church.

without a party. She fled to England for protection in 1568, and her infant son, James, became king with a Protestant regency. When James also became king of England in 1603, he ruled over a reformed island, although he was a Calvinist sovereign in the North, and head of an episcopal church in the South.

**The Reformation in Other Countries.**—In other European countries aside from those which we have mentioned, the Reformation had varying success. In Scandinavia, the revolt from Rome was as thoroughgoing as in any of the German states. King Gustavus I of Sweden had very material reasons for supporting Lutheranism. He had just forced his way to the throne by a rebellion against Denmark, which up to that time had controlled the entire Scandinavian peninsula. The Catholic bishops opposed him as king; therefore, in 1527 he openly professed Lutheranism, and then appropriated the church lands. The nobles to whom he gave these lands supported him against Denmark and ratified his revolt from Rome. The Netherlands divided on the reform question, the northern and Germanic portion turning Protestant. This religious movement in the Netherlands was largely the cause of a terrible war with Spain, which was not settled for the better part of a century. In France the Protestant doctrines found some acceptance, particularly among the middle and higher classes. Although always in a minority, these Protestants, called Huguenots, were very influential—they even had adherents in the royal family. Bitter persecution and the confusion of religious and political questions hindered the spread of reform, however, and France remained a Roman Catholic country. Spain, Italy, Bohemia, Austria, all felt the strong swells from the tremendous popular movement in the North, but tradition, ignorance, persecution, and skillful control by the old church prevented any lasting change in these countries.

**The Reformation in the Roman Catholic Church.**—One last phase of the Reformation movement must not be left out of sight. That was the reflex influence which such a powerful upheaval had upon the Roman Church. If large numbers of churchmen were falling away because of unworthy leaders, the first natural step, on the part of the Church, would be to choose only fit men for office. If the Protestants had a vigorous organization to extend their influence into Roman Catholic territory, the Catholics would be impelled to construct a similar fighting organization. The Roman Church accepted the conditions, effected a reorganization, and closed the century far stronger than it had been at the beginning. Thus for churches as for persons it is an ill wind which blows no good.

The first instrument used by Rome to recover lost ground and fight the Protestant revolt was the Holy Inquisition. This ecclesiastical tribunal had been used, as we know, to break the power of the Moors and the Jews in Spain. It proved to be a weapon ready forged to destroy the new heresy. The Inquisition allowed secret accusations, and hence the court could be used as a means of securing private revenge. A person once suspected might suddenly dis-

**The  
Inquisition.**



appear and not be heard of again for weeks. Thrown into prison, he was tortured in order to extract a confession. If he confessed and recanted, he might be pardoned, but those guilty of great heresies and those refusing to confess were handed over to the state authorities and burned to death. Part of the property of such unfortunates went to those who informed against them, part was taken by the Church. In justice to the Roman Catholic church it must be said that it was an intolerant age, and that heresy was regarded as a twin evil to treason, for denial of the church often meant a denial of the king, so closely were church and state connected. The terrible system of coercion did aid in crushing out Protestant tendencies in southern Europe, but at the same time the Inquisition destroyed whatever inclination toward intellectual originality and independence the people might have had. The intellectual leaders of 1600 were not found in Spain and Italy; they were in Holland, England, and Germany.

#### **The Jesuits.**

The renovated Roman church also had an organization to fight the heretics in the Order of the Jesuits. The foundation and growth of this powerful body was romantic and fascinating. Ignatius Loyola, a soldier of Spain, was so severely wounded in a battle with the French that he could never bear arms again. While spending weeks in convalescence he had a vision of a spiritual army fighting heretics, under the leadership of the Pope. The vision became for him a very definite plan, which took him for years as a mature man into the difficult studies of the universities as a preparation for his new work. During this time he gathered about himself several followers, among them the later great missionary Xavier, and in 1539 seven of the company offered their services to the Pope, as volunteers against heresy. By this time Luther's reform was an accomplished fact in Germany, and this reinforcement from an unexpected quarter was most opportune for the Pope. He assumed the leadership of the religious army which was to be recruited. Under him was the general, as the head of the Order, chosen by the higher officers and two deputies from each province. This general had control of the various provincial leaders, who were in charge of the provinces into which the field was divided. The Order thus had a perfectly unified organization. This organization was aided by the vow of absolute obedience to his superiors which every Jesuit was obliged to take. A Jesuit in the rank and file did not need to develop policies or even understand them; his greatest merit was to obey commands and ask no questions. Such an order of devoted, sincere men was an effective means of checking the growth of Protestantism, and also of extending the sway of the Pope in many foreign and barbarous lands—opened up during the period of exploration and discovery.

#### **Methods of the Jesuits.**

The Jesuits had more than one method of carrying on their work. They established thousands of excellent schools and installed the



best teachers of the time. To these schools came both Catholic and Protestant children. So effective was the papal training of these schools, that many Protestants were thus led back into the fold. The Jesuits were also strong preachers, and some of their order became famous missionaries. Oftentimes they visited the North American Indian tribes even before the trapper or the explorer. Xavier, one of the founders of the Jesuits, went on a mission to India and even as far as Japan. In addition, the Jesuits made a great work for themselves as confessors of governors and others high in authority. These carefully educated men who were commanded directly from Rome, often had the confidence of the most powerful men in countries far distant from the papal capital. A very wide field was thus opened for intrigues, and because of their political power the Jesuits came later to be popularly hated and feared. This distrust became so great that many rulers abolished the Order in the eighteenth century. In its youthful vigor and sincerity, however, it not only built up the Roman Church, but it was also a positive check to Protestantism.

A third great instrument used in strengthening the older church against the Protestant attack was the Council of Trent, which met at different times between 1545 and 1563. It was called at Trent in the Tirol, ostensibly that both Protestants and Roman Catholics might meet on neutral ground and compromise their differences. That hope was a vain one, for the Pope saw to it that he should control a majority in the Council, and therefore no Protestants attended. One of the first things determined by the assembly was the exact teaching of orthodox Roman Catholicism. Some principles had not been clearly stated before this time, and many Catholics had had a leaning toward a portion, at least, of the Protestant doctrines. After the Council of Trent, however, this was no longer possible, for the ground there taken admitted of no compromise. It was stated that ecclesiastical tradition was of equal authority with the Scriptures, the seven sacraments were reaffirmed as holy exercises, and the Pope was recognized as the divinely commissioned leader of the Roman church. Furthermore, Luther's famous teaching of justification by faith was attacked in the proposition that justification was not to be found in faith alone. The Council of Trent also strengthened the Roman church, by carrying through that reform of leadership and membership which had been the hope of liberal minded churchmen before Luther's time. Simony was put under the ban, the custom of holding plural offices was severely condemned, and steps were taken to purify the rank and file of the clergy, so that the work of the Church need not be retarded by the personal lives of its servants. These healthy reform measures did not stop with the under clergy, but reached as far as the Roman Curia itself. No opportunity was left for another Alexander VI, or a John XXIII to sit in St.-Peter's chair; and to the credit of the Roman Catholic Church it must be said

**The Council  
of Trent.**

that no such Popes have ever appeared since the Council of Trent. Owing to the system of election, the Pope is sometimes a weak man, but he is no longer a corrupt man.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                         |                                    |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Servetus.            | 4. Xavier.                         |
| 2. Papal Infallibility. | 5. The Swiss Confederation.        |
| 3. Loyola.              | 6. Forerunners of the Reformation. |

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE RELIGIOUS WARS.

For the first half century of its history the Protestant Church faced but little armed opposition. Favoring circumstances allowed the new doctrines to spread with great rapidity over a large part of Europe. As soon as the Roman Catholic Church realized the danger of the situation and gathered together her still powerful forces an armed contest was inevitable. In the last half of the sixteenth century Protestantism was fighting for its life. Because the religious question is the most important one during this period, we call it the Period of the Religious Wars.

The great champion of the Papacy during these wars was Philip II of Spain. Born of the insanity tainted Hapsburg stock, the madness lurking in his blood took the form of a settled melancholy, which caused him to look out upon life as a great tragedy, full of suffering for all, himself included. He regarded himself as the instrument of Providence chosen to carry through great political and religious projects. To attain these ends he conscientiously undertook all of the details of government for his vast realm, and spent long days at his desk laboriously going over reports and dispatches. Unready, irresolute, he passed under the complete control of Roman Catholic agents, who made any means look acceptable for his desired ends. Intrigue, intimidation, bribery, confiscation, assassination of opponents, foreign war established during his rule a veritable Macchiavellian regime in Spanish dominions. Obstinate by nature, Philip stubbornly held to these methods when humanity cried out against his butcheries, and expediency counselled moderation and compromise. Personally afraid of the fires of hell, he burned men's bodies to save their souls. A devoted father and husband, this peculiar man could write affectionate letters to his family at the same time that he was sending companies of his subjects to execution.

**Philip II**  
**the Papal**  
**Champion.**

This cold, cruel king had a morbid horror of all heresy, and wished to see false doctrine destroyed, not only in Spain but in all Europe. He aided the Roman Catholic cause in other lands, and in those countries he was hated and feared as the foremost advocate of what was called Popery. In his own dominions the Holy Inquisition had the most extreme powers, even to that of punishing those who recanted, if their conversion might seem to be insincere. On his arrival in Spain from Flanders in 1559 he attended the public burning of a great company of heretics, most of whom were women. So bigoted was his orthodoxy that he almost succeeded in burning alive the confessor of his father, Charles V; and even the highest dignitaries of the church were not sure of their lives. An intellectual paralysis fell upon Spain; people scarcely dared to think at all; neither teachers nor students were allowed to work abroad.

**Dispersion  
of the Moors.**

With such a system of repression it was natural that no religious war broke out in Spain; but the system caused even greater losses than would have followed from a religious war. The Moors of Spain were descendants from the early Mohammedan conquerors of the country. In the course of time the Spaniards had won back their country and had forced the Moors to take on the outward forms of Christianity. At heart they were still Mohammedan and they still had their language and many of their oriental customs. Under Philip the Inquisition adopted toward the Moors a program of persecution which would have made them over completely and would even have destroyed their language. Such severity could result in nothing but revolt. This uprising was marked by all the horrors which go with a struggle between two races which have lived together and hated each other for generations. The Moors were finally crushed and Philip ordered them driven from their homes in Granada and distributed throughout the other provinces of the peninsula. The order was carried out with great cruelty, and as a people the Moors ceased to exist in Spain. It was a Pyrrhic victory, however, for the Moors were the most progressive class in Spain. After this setback Spanish industries began to decline.

**Conditions in the Netherlands.**—Philip II's intolerance was felt in lands beyond Spain. The seventeen provinces of the Spanish Netherlands at this time included the territory now known as Belgium and Holland. This territory had been inherited by Charles V from his great-grandfather, Charles the Bold. The land, although under one name, was really divided into two parts as it is today. The South,—Flanders,—was French in spirit, Celtic in blood, Roman Catholic in religion, and included a large number of wealthy manufacturing cities which had early received liberal political rights. Among these were Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges. The northern division,—Holland and other provinces,—was Teutonic in language and blood, agricultural in industry, and loyal to Protestant doctrines.

This was the country which Charles V had relinquished to Philip in 1555, even before he had given up the throne of Spain. Over it he had ruled with a heavy hand. He had laid oppressive taxes upon his wealthy subjects in order to support his endless military expeditions. He had sacrificed the lives of multitudes of its citizens in foreign wars; he had mercilessly persecuted the Protestants with thousands of executions. The people had submitted to his rule because he was a native son and was personally popular. Philip's rule in the Netherlands only followed the lines laid down by his father, but he was unpopular. He was a Spaniard by birth and training and could not speak the Flemish language. He had no sympathy with his subjects, and his rule from the beginning was received with distrust. Consequently, in 1559 he left the Netherlands and named a regent to take charge of the government. The regent appointed an advisory council of Flemish and Dutch nobles.

**The Revolt  
in the  
Netherlands.**

The discontent in the Netherlands was rather increased than checked by the retreat of Philip. Although the three great leaders



of the country—Counts Egmont and Hoorne and William, Prince of Orange,—were in the regent's council, the people were not satisfied. The unrest was increased in 1565 when Philip began to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands, although the earlier persecutions had been along the same lines. A large company of nobles, both Catholic and Protestant, called upon the regent to ask that the religious persecution be stopped. While the company were waiting before the regent some enemy called out that the petitioners were "only a pack of beggars." As in more than one other case, the initial term of reproach later became a name of honor. In spite of the fact that the three popular leaders took a neutral position, the majority of the nobles enthusiastically adopted the beggar's staff and wallet as their emblems and, although still professing loyalty to the King, agreed to stand together to secure reforms in church and government. The enthusiasm was communicated to the common people, who formed fanatical mobs in some places and destroyed every reminder of the Roman church. These "Image Breakers" were especially destructive in Antwerp, where they tore to pieces or made away with many of the art treasures in the cathedral.

Philip was enraged by such wanton action; he closed his eyes to the political problem and professed to interpret all of the discontent in the Netherlands by this violence against the Church. He determined to settle the matter by vigorous measures and appointed the Duke of Alva, one of his sternest captains, to carry out his plans. Alva went to the Netherlands in 1567 with a veteran army. Fifty years of warfare had hardened his heart, and the last expedition transformed him into a veritable maniac, urged on by the passions of greed and blood lust. He confiscated property by the wholesale with little or no justification. On an elastic charge of treason he dragged thousands before a special court of his own creatures, which from the number of its executions was called the Council of Blood. He seized Egmont and Hoorne by treachery and put them to death after a mock trial, but Prince William of Orange and other leaders saved their lives by fleeing from the country. Resistance died down, and Alva seemed justified in his proud boast that having subdued men of iron during his life time he would have little trouble with these men of butter.

**The Duke  
of Alva.**

He was mistaken. To maintain his army he resorted to heavy taxation of the country which he had subdued. A tax called The Tenth Penny called for a ten per cent payment to the government on every exchange of property. This unreasonable exaction united the people in a popular uprising which was led by William the Silent, who came back to the Netherlands with a body of German soldiers. At the same time a number of privateers, calling themselves "Sea Beggars," captured some of the smaller ports from the Spaniards and laid the foundation of the later Dutch sea power.

The contest which followed was one of the most savage in the history of the race. Whole villages were wiped out during the

**Desperate  
Defense of  
the Dutch.**

fighting and Alva stood ready to destroy every city in the Netherlands except those necessary for military posts. The "men of butter" showed that they could defend their homes even against Spanish infantry, which was the best in Europe. The martial cry "Vive les Gueux" ("Long live the Beggars") thrilled Alva's opponents with all the spirit of the Marseillaise.

The city of Haarlem held out for seven months, the women fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men to throw back the repeated assaults. When starvation finally compelled a surrender the Spanish murdered the survivors of the garrison. The siege of Leyden was resisted to the last extremity; the Dutch finally cut the dykes and over their flooded lands a fleet of Sea Beggars brought relief to the city. Probably the best defense of all was made by the heroic little town of Alkmaar where two thousand burghers beat off an attacking force of sixteen thousand. Philip finally became dissatisfied with Alva and recalled him in 1573.

The governors who succeeded Alva were more politic. They appealed to the strong Catholic sentiment in the Southern Netherlands and succeeded in recalling ten provinces to loyalty to the King of Spain. Alexander of Parma was the most successful of these governors in reconciliation measures, and he also carried on a vigorous war against the North. Neither force nor persuasion could undo all of the evil effects of Alva's rule, however, and in 1579 Prince William drew the seven northernmost provinces together into the Union of Utrecht. Although this new organization recognized the sovereignty of the King of Spain, Philip retaliated by outlawing the Prince of Orange and placed a price of 25,000 crowns upon his head. In 1581 the Dutch provinces declared their absolute independence of Spain.

Philip II had correctly located the chief obstacle to the complete subjugation of the Netherlands in William of Orange. For years the Prince had devoted everything to his bleeding country with the pure patriotism of a George Washington. During this time he had seen his estates ruined, his brothers slain, his son a hostage at the Spanish court, his soldiers mutinous, and himself a fugitive. Nevertheless he remained steadfast in the face of the greatest reverses, preserving an unruffled calm which won for him the name "William the Silent." Throughout all of his hardships he remained tolerant of his foes; even when surrounded by spies and paid assassins he was liberal enough to grant freedom of belief to such extremes as the Anabaptists and his Roman Catholic enemies. With Henry IV of France he gave the world the first glimpses of a real religious toleration.

Many Roman Catholic partisans were not so tolerant, but regarded the great Dutchman as a fiend incarnate. Time and again the effort was made to assassinate him, but he protected himself by an intricate network of supplies. Finally in 1584 a half crazy fanatic by the name of Balthazar Gerard won Philip's gold and

The Union  
of Utrecht.

William  
the Silent.

the gratitude of the Pope by shooting Prince William in his own home. The assassin had bought the pistol with money given as alms by William himself.

**His  
Assassina-  
tion.**

After William's death the war dragged on for years. The Spaniards had no hope of subduing the Dutch Netherlands after the defeat of the Armada in 1588, while the Dutch were saved by the skill of William's son, Maurice of Nassau,—one of the great modern captains. Spain would not recognize the independence of Holland, however, and the contest went over into the great European war from 1618-48. At the close of this thirty-year war Holland took her place among the independent European nations.

Although the long war had wrung many sacrifices from the Dutch people, it also brought many blessings. It quickened the Dutch national life to a marvelous growth; the Dutch became the intellectual leaders of Europe. The University of Leyden, founded in honor of the siege of the city, was visited by students from all nations. In military science, Maurice of Nassau became the teacher of Gustavus Adolphus and later captains. The sea power of the Dutch grew directly from the success of the Sea Beggars; commerce flourished in the midst of the war,—the Dutch even carrying grain to their enemies. In 1601 the East India Company was founded and the Dutch began to acquire the carrying trade of the world. In this they were supreme for a half century, until Cromwell sent the English ships into all oceans.

**The  
Results of  
the War  
in Holland.**

Protestantism developed very slowly in France. This was due partly to the fact that some of the kings persecuted the Protestants, partly to the nature of the French people. By 1560 the Huguenots were variously estimated at from one-tenth to one-twentieth of the French population, but since their recruits were among the better classes, their influence was much greater than their numbers would indicate. They were Calvinists and very intolerant; like their Roman Catholic opponents they believed that they faced a life and death struggle.

**France in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century.**—French political conditions of the last half of the sixteenth century were very favorable to civil war. In 1559 King Henry II was accidentally killed in a tournament. He left four immature sons with his Italian Queen, Catherine de Medici, as regent. These sons were all incapable; three of them came to the throne; each died without heirs. For the entire period of their rule Catherine found herself between two rival parties, with little following of her own. Her problem was to keep herself in power by playing off one party against the other. In this game of duplicity she had remarkable success, but she often trod in devious paths and revealed herself as almost completely lacking in moral sense. The Roman Catholic party took the name of the Holy League and swore to destroy all heretics, friend and foe alike. This party was led by the Dukes of Guise who were scheming for power in both the Church and the State. The League



was strongest in Paris and in the Northwest of France. The Protestant party was led by Admiral Coligny and King Henry of Navarre, and had its strength in the South and West. The contests between these three factions outlined above constitute the French religious wars. The contests had the same terrible details that marked all of the religious struggles. Leaders fell on both sides by assassination; each party depended upon foreign mercenaries,—the Catholics upon Spaniards, the Protestants upon German infantry. The wars were often broken up by truces, during which the Protestants sought to gain by negotiation equal religious and political liberty with the Roman Catholics.

**Vassy, 1562.**

The trouble began with the Massacre of Vassy in 1562. The Duke of Guise was passing a barn in which some Huguenots were holding service, when trouble broke out between his followers and the worshippers. He ordered a volley and nearly a hundred defenseless Protestants were killed. War broke out at once and smoldered along year after year. The Huguenots were outnumbered but they held their own by calling in English and German troops. For a long time the contest consisted only of petty raids and feud-like murders back and forth, but in 1572 an event occurred which brought the French war to the attention of the whole world.

**St. Bartholomew's Night, 1572.**

In August of that year young Henry of Navarre was married to a sister of the French King. It was during one of the truces of the war and Paris was full of Protestant leaders who had ventured into the Catholic stronghold to celebrate the marriage. Suddenly at a given signal, on St. Bartholomew's Night, the Guises led the mob of Paris to an attack upon the Protestants. The massacre continued for two days and was promptly imitated in the other cities of France where the Roman Catholics were in a strong majority. Thousands of Huguenots were cut down in cold blood; Admiral Coligny and many other leaders were killed—only Henry of Navarre was spared, and that because of his relationship to the royal family. Protestant Europe was horrified at the massacre; the Protestants in the Netherlands and England were more than ever convinced of the murderous plans of the Roman party; there sprang up in Protestant countries that nervous fear of "Popery" which was to last over a century. Catholic Europe was pleased by the events of St. Bartholomew's Night. In Rome a Te Deum was sung; Philip II of Spain was so pleased that he is said to have laughed aloud, for almost the only time on record.

**Henry IV, King of France.**

After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Night Henry of Navarre was the sole hope of the Huguenots. By the assassination of the last son of Catherine de Medici in 1589 Henry became the heir to the French throne and was recognized as King Henry IV by the moderate Roman Catholics. In the following years he overcame the opposition of the radicals by the great victory of Ivry, and by his conversion to the Catholic faith. Aided by his remarkable minister Sully, he at once bestirred himself to heal the gaping wounds left by over thirty years of civil war. He reestablished order, reorganized pub-



lic finances, and reduced the public debt one-third. He improved roads and canals, developed commerce, and stimulated silk manufacture and other industries. His interest extended beyond the boundaries of France, for he sent explorers to the St. Lawrence region, and outlined the famous Grand Design for the building up of France at the expense of the decentralized German empire. He did not forget the Huguenots, and in the great Edict of Nantes granted them a greater measure of toleration than was known in any other country. All civil and military offices were thrown open to the Huguenots, they were allowed free practice of their religion in most French cities, and some two hundred Protestant towns received almost independent rights of self government.

**Edict of  
Nantes, 1598.**

Henry IV was one of the most popular French kings. His democratic tastes dated from the time that he had played barefoot with the peasant boys of Navarre. His sympathy for the common people led him to work for a fowl in the poor man's pot for every Sunday dinner. Personally attractive, he was also personally immoral, even as judged by a shockingly immoral age. An absolute ruler, he showed moderation to his enemies and even took them into his councils. Tolerant like William the Silent in religious matters, he was like him also in being taken away by assassination<sup>1</sup> when the end of his great work was in sight.

There was no religious war in Germany or in England, although the Catholic party was still strong in each of these countries. In England, as we have seen, the conditions threatened war during the reign of Mary Tudor, for there was both persecution and bigotry; but Bloody Mary died before the opposition to her could develop. Again, during Elizabeth's time, the rival parties, the Queen's doubtful claim to the throne, the presence of Mary Stuart in England, the intrigues of Philip II of Spain and the attack by the Great Armada, the habit which Elizabeth had of secretly sending help to the Protestants in France and the Netherlands—all furnished materials for a civil conflict in England. The war was avoided first by Elizabeth's unflinching tact and rare statesmanship, and secondly, because of the Englishman's reverence for law and an established government.

**The Situation in Germany.**—No religious war broke out in Germany, largely because of the character of the Emperors. Ferdinand I, who succeeded Charles V, was peaceably inclined and disposed to recognize the truce inaugurated by the settlement at Augsburg in 1555. His son, Maximilian II, had been even inclined as a young prince to adopt Lutheran doctrines. As Emperor, therefore, he could not lead the Roman Catholics in a religious war against the Protestants. His successor, Rudolph II, was weak minded and erratic; during his long reign the government became so demoralized that war upon the Protestants was out of the question. The German Protestants, although they recognized that the storm in other countries threatened the faith as a whole, hoped nevertheless, that it would

<sup>1</sup> He was struck down by Ravaillac in 1610, as he was setting out for a war upon Germany, an undertaking of doubtful value for France.

pass over them. They spent their energies during the half century of the religious wars in sending mercenaries to France and the Netherlands, and in appropriating as much church property as possible. Thus the postponement of the solution of the church problem in Germany simply added to its complexity. In the tardy settlement of their religious questions the Germans were to see their country made a slaughter house for all Europe.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Montaigne.          | 4. Sully.             |
| 2. La Rochelle.        | 5. The Grand Design.  |
| 3. The "Day of Dupes." | 6. Ivan the Terrible. |

## CHAPTER V.

### THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

For a half century following the settlement of Augsburg Germany was at peace. During the period of the religious wars the German Protestants, although interested in the cause of their foreign brethren, held aloof, hoping that the storm would pass them by. Behind the treaty of Augsburg as a protection, Protestantism grew and intrenched itself. The Protestants disregarded the Ecclesiastical Reservation and kept possession of much church property. By 1600, therefore, when the other European states had settled the religious question, the German states were face to face with a situation which only war could alter. England was definitely Protestant by this time, France as certainly Catholic; the northern Netherlands had gained their independence and had won for Protestantism. Southern Europe was clearly Catholic, but the Germans were becoming more and more separated, the opposing factions were growing more and more bitter toward each other.

By 1600 the Protestants had lost the first enthusiasm which had gone with their movement, and they had fallen apart into various divisions which hated each other as cordially as they hated the Catholics. The leading Protestant party, the Lutherans,—the only one recognized in the Peace of Augsburg,—was as intolerant of other reformed sects as the Catholic church was of all Protestants. The Calvinists had also gained a footing in Germany, and were very strong in some of the South German states. The leader of this party was the Elector<sup>1</sup> of the Palatinate, a small state around Heidelberg on the Rhine. The leading Lutheran state was Saxony, and the Electors of Saxony were at this time greatly under the influence of Vienna; they were nearly always more willing to join hands with the Roman Catholic Emperor than with the Calvinistic Palatine.

In contrast with the Protestant disorganization, the Catholics had formed a united front by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Jesuit martial spirit had pervaded the rank and file of the church, and the desire to force Protestantism back grew stronger year by year. The character of the emperors also changed with the change in the spirit of the church. As we have already noted, the emperors who followed the Peace of Augsburg were either indifferent or sympathetic toward the question of Protestantism. With the election of the Emperor Matthias in 1612, matters were entirely changed. He was a warlike man and a loyal Catholic. He believed that Protestantism was a noxious heresy; he found a warlike spirit in the church. It is not surprising that a religious conflict broke out during his rule.

**Religious  
Conditions  
in Germany  
in 1600.**

<sup>1</sup>Among the many semi-independent princes of Germany there were seven Electors who had the right to choose the Emperor. Their many quarrels and severe exactions laid upon the candidates often reduced the Emperor to a figure-head and delivered Germany over to anarchy.

**Prepara-  
tions for  
War.**

In 1607 the Duke of Bavaria, with the Emperor's sanction, crushed out the new faith in the village of Donauworth because the Protestants had ill-treated a Catholic procession there. The next year the Protestants formed the Protestant Union under the leadership of Frederick IV of the Palatinate, although Saxony would not join this defensive league. In 1609 the Roman Catholic German states organized the Catholic League, with Duke Maximilian of Bavaria at the head. The lines were thus drawn for a struggle as soon as some pretext should present itself. The Emperor was not averse to such a civil conflict, for it would not only lessen the influence of the Protestant sect; it would also increase his political powers by weakening both Catholic and Protestant princes. Anything which weakened the German princes would strengthen his position, for both Catholic and Protestant states were exercising powers which in reality belonged to a central government.

The actual fighting of the Thirty Years' War falls into four periods, each named after the state defending the Protestant cause. The Catholic party was made up of the Emperor and the Catholic princes of Germany, of whom the Duke of Bavaria was the leader. The Catholics received help from the Emperor's lands in Austria and from the other Hapsburg territories of Spain and Italy. The Protestants were aided by Denmark, Sweden, and later even by Catholic France. In the early stages of the war, the contest had the character of a religious conflict like the earlier wars in France and the Netherlands. The close of the war was purely a political struggle—a duel between France and the Austrian Hapsburgs for control of Germany. For this reason the Thirty Years' War must be classed by itself as a transition stage from the wars over religious principles to the later wars which were fought for territory and political power.

**The Revolt  
in Bohemia.**

The first part of the Thirty Years' War was fought out in the Palatinate and in Bohemia. The latter, a Hapsburg province, had become heretical as early as the time of John Huss in the fifteenth century. The Hussite revolts had started a spirit of political independence. When Emperor Matthias began to persecute the Protestants by Roman Catholic governors he immediately faced a revolt. In May, 1618, three of his representatives were thrown out of the windows of the palace in Prague. The Bohemians then drove out the Jesuits, declared their independence of the Hapsburgs, and elected Frederick V of the Palatinate as their king. Frederick was an ambitious young prince with a still more ambitious princess, and he accepted the dangerous honor, relying partly upon the support of his father-in-law, James I of England, and partly upon the Protestant Union. He betook himself to Prague and attempted to set up a new government. The Emperor was not able to oppose the revolt at first, and he was fortunate to save Vienna from capture. His successor, Ferdinand II, secured alliances with Spain and the Catholic



League and even with the Elector of Saxony, while the Protestant Union refused to send help to Frederick. Hence the new king of Bohemia was easily defeated in the battle of White Mountain just outside of Prague, in November, 1620. Frederick fled unceremoniously from Bohemia and took refuge with his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg in Berlin. Because of the shortness of his rule history calls him the "Winter King."

The Roman Catholic party was not satisfied with the Bohemian success; but like the wild beast that has once tasted blood, they were eager for more. They extirpated Protestantism in Bohemia and in other Austrian lands, and dissolved the Protestant Union. The Catholic armies pushed on into Frederick's possessions on the Rhine and completely subdued them. Then followed a furious persecution which resulted in what the priests called the "blessed regeneration" of the Palatinate,<sup>1</sup> and the fervent Catholics began to hope for the complete overthrow of Protestantism. As a reward for the support of the League in these victories the Emperor gave Duke Maximilian of Bavaria all the Palatinate territories, as well as the rank of Elector which Frederick had held. Frederick and his queen withdrew from Berlin to Holland, where they lived for the rest of their days on the charity of the Dutch people.

**The Conquest of the Palatinate.**

The purpose of the Catholic League to subdue all Protestant states became so evident that universal alarm spread over northern Europe. Finally, in 1625, Christian IV King of Denmark invaded Germany to rescue the Protestant church, for he saw that a Catholic restoration in Germany would be but a prelude to papal success everywhere. Unfortunately, he had small chance of success, for by 1625 the Catholics were so well united and had such capable leaders that only a genius or a united Protestantism could check them. Christian IV was no genius, and the Protestants in Germany did not support him enthusiastically. Moreover, Waldstein,<sup>2</sup> the commander of the Emperor's army, and Tilly, who had charge of the troops of the Catholic League, were two of the most capable leaders of the age. Christian was hustled out of Germany, and the allied Catholic armies went far into his own territories. The city of Stral-

**The Danish Period.**

<sup>1</sup> The library of Heidelberg University, the finest collection of books and manuscripts in Europe, was carted away and given as a present to the Pope. Many of its treasures are still in the Vatican.

<sup>2</sup> This Waldstein was one of the most puzzling and contradictory characters in modern history. A Bohemian noble of Protestant antecedents, he enriched himself by speculating in lands confiscated from the Protestants after the battle of White Mountain. At times he favored the supremacy of the Emperor and a lasting peace in Germany on the basis of religious toleration for all sects, and again his intrigues for his own political advancement caused all men to suspect and fear him. An able administrator, a level headed financier, a marvel in raising up about him freebooting mercenary armies, he was also a believer in dreams, a student of astrology and firmly trusted in his lucky star. At first the Emperor believed in this mysterious, capable man; but at the head of over a hundred thousand soldiers the ambitious Waldstein filled Ferdinand with terror. When the Emperor joined with the Catholic League in attacking the Protestants by the Edict of Restitution, he dismissed Waldstein, and disbanded his army.

sund finally stopped Waldstein, and Christian was glad to make peace in 1629. He received his territory back on his promising not to interfere again in Germany. His withdrawal left the Catholics in complete control of the situation there, and the Emperor took advantage of it at once. Urged on by the Jesuits and the rabid partisans of the Catholic League, he issued the Edict of Restitution, which showed how great the Catholic success had been. Following this edict all property taken by the Protestants from the Roman Church since 1555 was to be restored. This meant that the Protestants would lose two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and hundreds of smaller holdings. The Edict further emphasized that provision of the treaty of 1555 which had said that only the Lutheran sect should be tolerated in German states. Although the Edict of Restitution was based upon the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, it overthrew conditions which had been tacitly accepted for years and showed to Europe the dangerous strength of the Emperor and the Catholic party. Consequently it soon called up a new champion for the Protestant party.

**The Edict of Restitution.**

Sweden had become Protestant at the same time that Germany had cut loose from Rome, and had become the strongest state in northern Europe. The new royal house of Vasa had established a strongly centralized government based upon the support of the nobles. Russia had not yet become a great power, and the East Baltic lands were under Swedish control. The Swedes were not content to be shut off among their northern snows, but were eager to play a part in German affairs. They had a national longing to make the Baltic a "Swedish lake" and control its commerce. They were therefore much interested in the course of the war in Germany.

**Gustavus Adolphus.**

In 1611 a young prince by the name of Gustavus Adolphus took the Swedish throne. He had all of the national aspirations of his people and at the same time a mind and ambitions of his own, with a latent military genius of the first rank. He was a thorough Protestant and sympathized with his defeated brethren in Germany. As the great war went on he saw the territories of his brother-in-law, the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg, threatened by the Roman Catholic armies. His own throne was claimed by the King of Poland, and the German Emperor supported the claim. Vigorous and indefatigable, he completely reorganized his army and breathed into it his own spirit of religious and patriotic devotion. When, therefore, French agents went to him offering subsidies if he would invade Germany and save the Protestant cause, numerous powerful motives urged him to fall in with the plan. He landed with his army in Pomerania on June 24, 1630.

When Gustavus Adolphus arrived in Germany many of the German princes distrusted him. They feared the political designs of the Swedes more than they appreciated their own dangers. Saxony was actually ready to fight the Swedes, and even the Elector of Brandenburg held aloof. Without some German help Gustavus was

in danger, and he might have been forced to meet alone the attack of the combined armies of the Catholics, had it not been for a mistake in Catholic leadership. In May, 1631, Tilly attacked and captured the Protestant city of Magdeburg and then allowed it to be sacked by his terrible soldiers. The catastrophe frightened the German Protestants into union with the Swedes; Saxon troops marched to join Gustavus as he made his way toward Berlin, the Brandenburg capital.

As soon as he was sure of German support he moved upon the Catholic forces. He crushed Tilly's army in a Napoleonic attack at Breitenfeld near Leipzig in September, 1631. A little later he struck Tilly again at the river Lech, broke his army to pieces and killed the commander himself. He pushed on far southward until he even threatened Vienna. This crisis forced the Emperor to humiliate himself and beg for aid from Waldstein, whom he feared little less than the Swedes. Ferdinand held out princely rewards before the great adventurer and finally secured his promise to raise another force. As if by magic a great multitude of mercenaries rallied around Waldstein; he consolidated them into an army, and succeeded in holding the Swedes back from Nuremberg. Gustavus Adolphus then turned westward and freed the Rhine from the Catholics. In 1632 he once more met Waldstein at Lützen in the great battle plain around Leipzig. The Swedish attack was successful, but its very impetuosity carried Gustavus over into Waldstein's ranks, and he was killed before he could retire. His generals kept up the war, but deprived of the genius of their king, the Swedes lost ground, until, by the battle of Nördlingen in 1634, they were forced into a position of secondary importance in Germany.<sup>①</sup>

The Swedish period of the war was closed by the treaty of Prague in 1635. The death of Gustavus Adolphus deprived the Swedes of their leader at precisely the right moment to prevent their gaining political power in Germany. Nevertheless, the more unselfish part of the Swedish mission had been fulfilled,—they had saved the Protestant cause. The crushing victories of Gustavus had shown the Emperor that the Edict of Restitution could not be carried out, that the Protestant body was too full of vitality to be given a death blow. The treaty of Prague was, therefore, a compromise. The conditions of 1627 were adopted as the basis for division of church property, only Lutherans were to have religious freedom, and all the German princes were to unite to drive the Swedes out of the country. The leading Protestant princes agreed to these terms, although the non-Lutherans of South Germany were greatly dissatisfied.

**Treaty of  
Prague,  
1635.**

**The French Period of the War.**—The discredit for the continuation of the war must be shared by France and the Emperor. Ferdinand's refusal to grant the Calvinists fair terms gave France a

<sup>①</sup>Waldstein had been murdered by agents of the Emperor just before this battle, because he was conspiring with the Swedes and the Protestants to establish peace in Germany. His life and death form the basis for Schiller's great tragedy, *Wallenstein*.



chance to interfere. The crafty Richelieu<sup>1</sup> took advantage of the Protestant discontent in Germany, and the presence of the hungry Swedes, to continue the terrible, devastating contest thirteen years longer. During this French period the war was purely political in nature. The French Kings were not only rivals of the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs, but the French people had long cherished the dream of the "natural boundaries" for France—the Rhine on the North and East, and the Pyrenees on the South. The disorganized condition of Germany during the Thirty Years' War gave France the chance to take possession of much Rhenish German territory, for the people in some of those districts were French in sympathies and in language, and they distrusted the Emperor as much as if he were a foreign prince. This war also gave France a chance to acquire the Spanish territory north of the Pyrenees, for Spain was an ally of the Emperor. The French found an ally in their plans in the selfishness of the Swedes. Since the pious days of Gustavus Adolphus the Swedish army had greatly deteriorated and both generals and soldiers had made fortunes by plundering the Germans; when, therefore, France offered liberal subsidies for a continuation of the war after 1635, the Swedes remained in Germany. The French also supplied an army, and these two foreign powers refused to allow the Peace of Prague to go into effect.

**Terrible  
Course of  
the War.**

The war which followed was most barbarous. The armies were organized on Waldstein's model; they were made up of mercenaries who plundered the country indiscriminately. No adequate attempt was made to provision the troops from headquarters; they forced contributions from Catholics and Protestants alike. The German Protestant princes tried to stand neutral between the Emperor and the allies, and so their territories were plundered by both parties. Cities which lay in the path of the armies were forced to make heavy contributions under threat of sharing the fate of Magdeburg. The armies were followed by a rabble of women and children, sometimes more numerous than the army itself. This rabble also included numbers of merchants who bought the plunder which the soldiers collected but were unable to carry with them. Burnings and murder, violence and torture, wanton destruction and unbridled lust tormented unfortunate Germany. During all these years the allies

<sup>1</sup>The great priest-statesman deserves more than a mere notice. In the discord following the assassination of Henry IV in 1610 he rose to power as the one strong man in France. He cherished the aim of an absolute sovereign in a united state. To this end he ruthlessly destroyed those nobles who sought to re-establish the parties of the religious wars. He took away the special political privileges of the Huguenots, but though a Cardinal in the Roman Church, he allowed them continued religious toleration. These measures united France at home, and Richelieu with deft fingers then began to spin a web of French influence over foreign states. He contracted the first great corps of diplomatic representatives, to cultivate French interests abroad. French agents, secret and accredited, were everywhere in Europe, urging, threatening, bribing—with the Cardinal's master mind at the center of operations, directing everything. Though frail in body, he had an iron will and a great perseverance; he was a cool, calculating human machine, with few human sympathies. He made many enemies, and lived amid plots against his life, but his tact and adroitness carried him past every danger. More than once his enemies thought that they had him in their power, but each time he slipped out of their grasp. In spite of Louis XIII's distrust for him, he made the sickly monarch a power in Europe, and laid the foundation for the later despotisms of Louis XIV and Napoleon.



were pushing farther and farther into the Emperor's territory, and tightening their hold upon him. In 1647 Turenne overran Bavaria, threatened Vienna, and forced the acceptance of the treaties of Westphalia and the close of the war.

Since 1644 negotiations for peace had been going on in two Westphalian cities, Osnabrück and Münster, but each party had delayed the conclusion of peace, hoping for a decisive victory in the field. When the campaigns finally turned against the Emperor he reluctantly accepted the result, and the other Catholic states followed his example. A large number of agreements were then signed among the various European nations, thus establishing the first general peace which Europe had known for an entire generation.

Territorially speaking, the treaties of Westphalia were unfavorable to the Emperor. Sweden received half of the Baltic province of Pomerania and a large indemnity. France took a long step toward the "natural boundaries" by securing the most of Alsace and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Switzerland and the Netherlands were declared independent of the Hapsburgs. Within Germany, Brandenburg received half of Pomerania and thus became the most powerful German state. The Duke of Bavaria kept the greater part of the Palatine territory which he had received early in the war, but the district around Heidelberg was restored to the son of the unhappy Frederick V. Finally, the greatest blow of all at the Emperor's power was the provision that the various German princes might make foreign alliances independently of the Emperor. This gave a splendid opportunity for further Swedish and French intrigues within the Empire, for France and Sweden were made guarantors of the treaties of Westphalia with power to intervene in German affairs.

**Treaties of  
Westphalia,  
1648.**

Considered from the religious standpoint the results gained in the peace of Westphalia did not pay the Roman Catholics for thirty years of conflict. The Augsburg settlement of 1555 was confirmed, but the Calvinists as well as the Lutherans were to be recognized as bona fide Protestants. The Prince was again given the power to determine the religion of his state, but subjects of a different turn of mind were to be allowed three years in which to close up their affairs and emigrate. The dispute over the possession of much church property was settled by adopting the conditions which had prevailed on January 1, 1624. This was the time when the Catholics had conquered Bohemia and the Palatinate, but before they had pushed into North Germany.

The results of the Thirty Years' War were far reaching. In a material way, certain parts of Germany suffered so terribly that the traces of the war have not yet been removed. The population of the whole country decreased from thirty millions to twelve millions; that of Augsburg fell from eighty thousand to thirty thousand. The State of Würtemberg lost 450,000 out of its 500,000 population. Whole villages lay deserted at the close of the war; the country had been devastated for miles in all directions, and thickets took posses-

**Effects of  
the War.**

sion of the uncultivated fields. Wolf packs appeared in winter in districts which had at one time been fertile and thickly populated. Industry received a deadly blow, not only because of the number of men drawn into the unproductive life of the army, but because of the lack of protection in an age of anarchy; whole trades were thus lost. These material losses directly affected the character of the people who remained. Robbed of all means of subsistence, many wretches were forced to live upon roots, unclean animals and even carrion; in some districts even the graveyards were not free from attack. Starvation induced robbery, and bands of peasants gave up all work to gain a living by plundering the country, thus showing how well they had learned the lesson taught by the mercenary armies. Not only robbery, but all varieties of crime flourished luxuriantly because of the moral breakdown. Many of the younger generation had never known anything but violence and war, and they looked upon such conditions as the natural order of things. German self-respect and patriotism were also seriously affected. Not only did the intellectual life suffer, but Germans began a servile imitation of foreign dress, manners, and customs, and many persons even adopted foreign speech.

The political results of the war spread a wave of influence far down through modern history to the very recent time of the unification of Germany. The last real power of the Emperor was taken away, the German princes became the strongest power in Germany, the Elector of Brandenburg was made the strongest German prince. Thus was German unity long delayed. France and Sweden, as guarantors of the treaty, were placed like greedy wolves in a position where they could easily pounce upon the helpless body of Germany. They kept their troops in German territory long after 1648, and fomented discord there, that they might profit from it. France, in particular, attained during the next half century a preeminence among Continental powers which was not seriously challenged until the time of Frederick the Great, and not overthrown until the age of Bismarck.

Following the Thirty Years' War religious matters take a secondary place in German affairs, for the Diet was forbidden to legislate in that field against the vote of any one state. After 1648 European history is concerned with political, or governmental, questions. For the appearance of these problems the treaties of Westphalia cleared the way.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                                     |                                    |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. The Holy Roman Empire.           | 5. The First Artillery.            |
| 2. The Life of a Mercenary Soldier. | 6. Queen Christina.                |
| 3. The Mennonites.                  | 7. The Republic of Venice.         |
| 4. Tilly.                           | 8. The Negotiations of Westphalia. |

## CHAPTER VI.

### TERRITORIAL WARS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

As we have already seen, the Thirty Years' War was the last of the great religious conflicts. Indeed, in its later years it became almost entirely political, and at its close we come to the greatest influence at work in European history between 1650 and the French Revolution. The opportunity for material expansion appealed to all the great European nations, and led to a series of wars which covered a century and a half. One phase of the question, territorial expansion in Europe, will be the subject of this chapter. A second phase, the struggle for colonial empire, will be taken up in Chapter VII.

#### FRENCH WARS.

At the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, France was in a commanding position among European nations. Not only did the French gain the province of Alsace and the districts around Metz, Toul, and Verdun as a result of the skillful interference of Mazarin and Richelieu in that conflict, but France was made one of the powers which were to see that the treaties of Westphalia were enforced. Spain refused to accept the decisions of Westphalia and kept up the war single handed for a decade longer, but a state of extreme exhaustion finally compelled the Spaniards to accept peace on terms dictated by France. The Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 forced Spain to make important cessions of territory on the northern boundary of France; on the South the French received territory as far as the natural boundary of the Pyrenees.

**Conditions  
in France  
in 1650.**

Soon after the Peace of the Pyrenees Mazarin died, and Louis XIV assumed complete charge of the French government. Mazarin's success in securing all territories as far as the Pyrenees encouraged the young king to plan to obtain the Rhine, the long wished for boundary on the North and East. A company of great men loyally aided him in his ambition. Colbert, finance minister, took office in 1662, and for a score of years made his chief aim in life to provide funds for Louis' many undertakings. Louvois, minister of war, completely reorganized the French army, and made it the first modern fighting machine, with an organized department for furnishing provisions and arms. Vauban, a great military engineer, developed a system of fortification and siege until few places were strong enough to resist his attack. Lionne so extended the French diplomatic service that Louis ultimately had an agent working like a beaver at every foreign court of any importance. Turenne and Condé were veteran generals of extraordinary ability who were faithful servants of their king.

**The War of Devolution.**<sup>①</sup>—By 1667 Louis XIV was ready to make his first move. On the northeastern boundary of France were a number of detached territories with a French population, and with incapable government. The Spanish Netherlands were those provinces which had submitted to Spain after their revolt along with the Dutch in the sixteenth century. Franche Comté, also Spanish but separate from the Netherlands, was a part of that district of Burgundy once ruled by Charles the Bold. For Louis it was conveniently near to the province of Alsace on the Rhine, which France had recently won in the Thirty Years' War.

By the Treaty of the Pyrenees, a marriage had been arranged between Louis XIV and the oldest daughter of the King of Spain. The princess was to bring a dowry of 500,000 crowns, but she gave up all claims to Spanish territory. The dowry was not paid by bankrupt Spain, and when King Philip IV died in 1665, leaving two daughters and a feeble son, Louis XIV claimed a part of the Spanish Netherlands for his queen. The claim was not well founded, and Spain rejected it, but Louis was ready for the emergency. He announced to Europe in 1667 that he was setting out on a journey to take possession of the queen's inheritance. He was accompanied on the "journey" by 50,000 picked troops, and hence occupied the cities of the Spanish Netherlands with little resistance. Europe was alarmed at the aggression and began to mutter discontent, but Louis kept up his rapid movement and also took possession of Franche Comté in a few weeks. At this point, England, Sweden, and Holland formed the Triple Alliance against France, and forced Louis to halt. These powers brought about the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1669, by which France restored Franche Comté to Spain. Louis kept some dozen fortified towns which he had seized in the Netherlands.

**War with Holland.**—Although Louis had gained materially by the War of Devolution, he had carried out only a part of his plan; and the method by which peace had been forced upon him hurt his pride. He regarded the Dutch as the center of the recent alliance against him, and he singled them out for punishment. The French people shared Louis' dislike of the Dutch, because there was a mutual feeling of distrust between the two nations. The Dutch did not want France as a neighbor in the Spanish Netherlands, while their own great commerce stood in the way of French expansion; likewise their Protestant religion and their democratic institutions were opposed to those in France. Therefore, the treaty of 1668 could be only a truce while Louis was preparing for his next move, one against Holland itself. By skillful diplomacy Lionne destroyed the Triple Alliance. He bought off Sweden with subsidies; he made the Secret Treaty of Dover with King Charles II of England, in which Charles deserted the Dutch and promised to aid France against Holland. Thus bereft of allies, without an army, torn by quarrels between

<sup>①</sup>Named from the Devolution (Inheritance) Law of some of the districts claimed by Louis XIV in the Spanish Netherlands.



the republican and the Orange parties, heavy and listless from years of rich trade, the conquerors of Philip II lay helpless before Louis XIV.

By 1672 everything was ready. With Turenne and Vauban Louis moved down the Rhine, took city after city without opposition, and threatened to occupy all Holland. The Dutch were in despair; a mob killed the republican leaders, the De Witt brothers, and tore them to pieces. So desperate was the situation that some men even considered giving up everything and migrating to the East Indies. Had the French pressed their earlier advantage they could easily have occupied Amsterdam; but Louis delayed in order to capture unimportant fortresses. His vanity and love of the spectacular thus offered a chance to the new Dutch leader, William of Orange. He cut the dykes and flooded the land. This held the French back and gave William time to arrange for help from other European powers. Louis aided these negotiations himself by refusing to give the Dutch moderate terms of peace. So great appeared the danger from France, not only to Holland but to the entire Rhine country that William was able in 1674 to draw together a great European alliance including Holland, Spain, the German Emperor, and other German princes. This alliance opposed the entire expansion scheme of the French; it made the war European in extent and saved Holland. However, the wealth of France, her splendid army, and the genius of the two great generals Condé and Turenne enabled Louis to make head against all his enemies and conclude the satisfactory treaty of Nimeguen in 1678. He had once more conquered Franche Comté during these years, and consequently kept that province in the treaty. He did not break the power of the Dutch as he had planned to do, but he received more towns in the Spanish Netherlands; this gave him a powerful barrier against invasion from the North.

**War with the German Empire.**—After the treaty of Nimeguen Louis was at the height of his power. He had taken successive steps in his plan of territorial expansion, even against the opposition of Europe, and it seemed that no power was strong enough to hold him back. However, during the decade which followed Nimeguen, Louis' purposes became so clear, and the danger from French control became so great that European princes were forced to forget all differences and unite on the common ground of opposition to France. As in the case of Napoleon a century later, they saw that there was to be no peace in Europe until the power of France was broken. No European statesman saw the fact so clearly as William of Orange, and he labored day and night to keep his allies in line. Against him were arrayed French gold, skillful diplomacy, the mutual jealousy of the allies, and the fear of France.

In 1680 Louis XIV set up on the German boundary arbitrary courts called Chambers of Reunion, which were to decide what territories should be ceded to France under the terms of the treaty of

Continued  
French  
Encroachment.

Nimeguen. These mock courts accepted the flimsiest evidence and awarded to France important districts really belonging to the German Empire. In 1681 while the Emperor was threatened by an attack of the Turks upon Vienna, French troops suddenly seized Strasburg, the strongest city on the upper Rhine. In 1685 Louis XIV revoked the tolerant Edict of Nantes, and began a persecution of the Huguenots, thus disclosing to the world the absolute despotism which existed in France. In the same year he laid claim to the Rhenish Palatinate at the death of the last male heir to that little state. He based his claim on the marriage between his brother and a sister of the German prince, but his contention had no foundation whatever, for the princess had on her marriage expressly given up all her rights in the Palatinate succession. This latest demand on the part of Louis showed the French pretensions pressing beyond the natural boundary of the Rhine.

The  
League of  
Augsburg.

By 1686 France was so generally feared that the German Emperor headed the League of Augsburg<sup>1</sup> against France, although William of Orange was the moving spirit of the alliance. This league was enlarged in 1688 to include both England and Holland, after William of Orange had taken the throne of England as William III.<sup>2</sup> He thus directed a powerful union of all Europe against the hated designs of the French. It seemed that the time for the success of the allies had at last come.

Against the allies Louis had two plans, and he acted quickly. He threw an army into the Rhine districts, but knowing that he could not hold the plain against superior numbers he ordered a complete and terrible devastation of the country, so that it could not be used as a base of attack upon France. The work was thoroughly carried out, to the horror of the world. Twelve hundred cities and villages were destroyed, the fields were laid waste, the people were impoverished and driven out. After this devastation of the Rhine valley the war dragged along for years on a line from the Netherlands to Alsace. The French won the battles, but the allies under William obstinately kept the field.

Louis' second plan was to break the alliance against him by returning the Stuarts to England and expelling his great opponent, William III. For this purpose he sent a fleet and soldiers to aid James II in a descent upon Ireland in 1690. William was vigilant and soon defeated James in the battle of the Boyne, and the English broke up the French fleet at La Hogue in 1692. The control of the sea insured England and Holland against invasion, and William therefore continued to lead the alliance as head of both countries. As the war went on the strain at last began to tell upon French finances, the allies began to make headway, the childless king of Spain seemed on the point of death, with the great question of the Spanish succession to be decided, and hence Louis needed peace.

<sup>1</sup> This League included the Emperor, the King of Spain, the leading German princes and the Pope.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the Revolution of 1688 given in Chapter VIII.

He therefore agreed to the treaty of Ryswick in 1697. He recognized William of Orange as king of England, he took nothing from the Dutch, he even returned some territories to Spain, but he laid a heavy hand upon the disunited German Empire. He kept all the territories in Alsace which had been previously awarded to him by his Chambers of Reunion. He even kept possession of Strasburg, thus arousing the indignation of the whole Empire. An impotent indignation it was, for all the allies had been cleverly won to peace by French concessions, and no one would lift a hand to support the Germans, who could not help themselves.

**The War of the Spanish Succession.**—The waning Spanish monarchy had had a waning royal house for years. Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, was a mere shadow of a man, weak minded and infirm.<sup>①</sup> When he came to the throne in 1665, Europe confidently expected his death within a few years, and yet he lingered on year after year for an entire generation, while the European powers plotted for his territories. He was childless, and his nearest male relatives were French and German princes. The Spanish heritage was a rich one, including Spain, Milan, Naples, Sicily, the Netherlands, and extensive colonies beyond the seas. The rivalry for these possessions not only added a new subject for dispute between France and the German Emperor, but it affected all Europe. Spain was opposed to any division of the territories, while England and Holland dreaded any advance of the French into the Spanish Netherlands.

Louis XIV did not feel able to oppose the whole of Europe on the question of the Spanish succession, especially after the long war with Germany. Immediately after the Treaty of Ryswick, therefore, he secured the consent of England to a division of the Spanish territories among the various claimants. In November, 1700, Charles II died, leaving a will giving all his territories to Philip of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV. To the astonishment of England and of all Europe Louis XIV then disregarded his partition treaties, accepted the will, and sent his grandson with great pomp to take the Spanish throne. The French people were jubilant; "the Pyrenees no longer exist," said they.

The danger to Europe from a union of France and Spain was as great as that from French control of the German Empire, and yet a European alliance was slow in forming. England and Holland hesitated to plunge into another long war. The Austrian Hapsburgs, although eager to fight for a share of the Spanish possessions, were not strong enough alone to do anything with Louis XIV. Had Louis been less insolent in the moment of his success, diplomacy might have avoided war; but he made some great blunders which once more stirred up the war spirit in both England and Holland. He assured Philip of Anjou, or Philip V of Spain, of his rights in the succession to the French crown, thus emphasizing in the face of all

<sup>①</sup>At four years of age Charles II was still an infant in arms; he had neither hair nor teeth. As a grown man he could scarcely read or write.



Europe the possibility of a future union of France and Spain. He once more recognized the Stuarts as the rightful sovereigns of England, and he drove the Dutch out of some border towns in the Netherlands which they rightfully held.

**The Grand Alliance.**

Since the French plans were a menace to the peace of Europe, the general European alliance was once more set up to check them. Only a few months before his death William III perfected his Grand Alliance, including England, Holland, the Empire, and the majority of the German states. He left a greater general than himself in charge of the campaign. This was the Duke of Marlborough, who was very ably supported by Prince Eugene of Savoy, in command of the Emperor's army. The allies were numerous enough to attack France on all sides and even in the colonies.

We cannot go into all the details of the terribly exhausting war. France was beaten in battle after battle, the most famous of which was that of Blenheim in 1704. In the same year England captured Gibraltar. The winter of 1708-9 was one of the severest known in European history, and terribly increased the sufferings of the French people, who had already made great sacrifices for their Grand Monarch. By 1709 Louis was beaten to his knees, and he was forced to ask peace of his enemies. He agreed to give up the crown of Spain, numerous cities in the Netherlands, Strasburg, and all other territory which he had conquered and stolen from the Empire during his long reign. The allies should have been satisfied, but they foolishly tried to humiliate him, and demanded that he drive his grandson out of Spain with French troops. He proudly turned away from such a suggestion; he made one last appeal to his people, and raised one last army. In the bloody battle of Malplaquet the French Marshal, Villars, fought both Marlborough and Prince Eugene to a standstill and saved France, although the French were finally driven from the field of battle. England was tired of war by this time; a change of ministers from Whig to Tory caused Marlborough's recall and led up to negotiations for peace. England and Holland were the more ready to make friends with France because the death of the Emperor had left one Hapsburg prince as the heir of all Austria, and claimant to Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. The union of all these territories under one government would have reestablished the Empire of Charles V, a settlement as dangerous to the peace of Europe as the union of France and Spain.

**The Treaty of Utrecht.**

Austria and some of the German states insisted on continuing the war, but England and Holland signed the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. England received some French colonial possessions and kept Gibraltar. Holland received some fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands; the Austrian Hapsburgs were to have the Spanish Netherlands and most of the Spanish possessions in Italy. Philip V was to keep the throne of Spain and the Spanish colonies, with the condition that Spain and France should never be united under one crown. Philip thus became the first of the Spanish Bourbons, and Louis XIV gained his chief object in the war. The result was also a victory for the



allies because France was so weakened by the terrific exertions of a half-century of conflict that the balance of power was once more restored in Europe. In 1714 the German Emperor accepted the terms of the treaty of Utrecht; in the following year Louis XIV died of old age and senile decay. Following him France was eclipsed by other and more vigorous nations, for with him his system of despotic control had grown old and fallen into a decline.

#### GERMAN WARS.

**The Northern War, 1656-9.**—Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, was the real founder of the modern Prussian state. At the close of the Thirty Years' War, he found his people impoverished, in common with the remainder of Germany, and his lands were apparently hopelessly divided. The Elector's territories on the Rhine<sup>①</sup> were separate from each other, and had utterly no feeling of unity with the territory in the North. East of Brandenburg, but cut off from it by a part of Poland, was the duchy of Prussia, which the Hohenzollerns had inherited from a religious order, The Teutonic Knights. This duchy had only the personal union with Brandenburg, and for it, the Elector was obliged to do homage to the King of Poland as his lord. The Mark Brandenburg, with Berlin as capital, was not uniform in outline and was surrounded by covetous neighbors. With his territories in such a state, the Swedes eager to win lands in northern Germany, the Emperor jealous of him as the strongest German prince, and with no natural boundaries, the Elector needed all possible skill to hold his own. Wars resulting from territorial disputes were a certainty.<sup>②</sup>

The royal houses of Sweden and Poland were related. In 1656 the Swedish line died out and a prince from South Germany was chosen king, as Charles Augustus. The King of Poland refused to recognize the new monarch, and Sweden declared war. Charles Augustus led an army across Brandenburg territory in an invasion of Poland, and as he did so he forced the Elector to renounce Poland and recognize Sweden as the sovereign power in Prussia. Shortly afterward the war took a serious turn for Sweden and Charles Augustus then offered the Elector some Polish provinces in return for active military support. Frederick William joined Sweden, and in a great three days' battle the allies defeated an enormous irregular army of Poles before Warsaw. Skillfully maintaining the balance of power between the two opponents, the Elector then refused to go farther in the conquest of Poland, and the Swedes were soon once more in distress. This gave Frederick William his chance to dictate the treaty of Labiau, by which Sweden recognized him as absolute master of Prussia. Five days later, in the spirit of double dealing which marked the time, the Elector began negotiations with

<sup>①</sup>Cleves and other small districts.

<sup>②</sup>From the desperate times of the Great Elector dates the Hohenzollern *Macht-politik*, or defense by attack, which prevails today in Germany. It seems to be unnecessary for a strong state and in an era of international law.

**Treaty of  
Oliva, 1660.**

Poland, offering to desert Sweden if Poland would also recognize his sovereignty over Prussia. This the Polish king consented to do, and the Elector at once joined him in an alliance against Sweden. The new allies expelled the Swedes from Poland and easily conquered all the Swedish lands south of the Baltic. In the peace of Oliva in 1660, France forced the return of these Baltic territories to Sweden, but all powers joined in the recognition of the Elector of Brandenburg as the sovereign lord of Prussia.

**Frederick the Great takes Silesia, 1740-8.**—During the Thirty Years' War the armies of the Emperor had taken possession of certain territories in Silesia which were claimed by Brandenburg. The Hapsburgs kept these districts at the close of the war, and a century of negotiations failed to loosen their grasp upon them. In 1740 the Emperor Charles VI died, leaving as a successor only a daughter, Maria Theresa. Before his death Charles had secured the assent of the principal European powers to his daughter's succession to the Austrian territories. No sooner was he dead than Bavaria, France, and Prussia nullified the agreement by sending troops to snatch from the young princess certain territories which they claimed.

Frederick II of Prussia had come to the throne only a few months before the death of the Emperor. He had found a well-drilled army and a full treasury; he was very ambitious, and German scholars urged the claims of Prussia upon Silesia. Frederick therefore promptly marched into Silesia on the death of Charles VI, occupied Breslau, the capital, and allied himself with the French. Maria Theresa could not make headway against all her enemies, and so she bought peace of Frederick by granting him his conquests. Frederick therefore promptly deserted his allies and signed the peace of Breslau in 1742. The war then continued, with England aiding Austria; but Frederick was once more drawn into it when it became apparent that Maria Theresa was simply waiting a favorable turn in the contest to attack him also. He defended his conquests with great skill and at the close of the war, in 1745, his control of Silesia was confirmed.

**The Seven Years' War, 1756-63.**—Maria Theresa did not become reconciled to the loss of Silesia. As soon as the war was over she began to form a great alliance to recover her lost province and to restore her threatened leadership in Germany. Russia willingly entered the alliance, for the Czarina Elizabeth personally disliked Frederick. Austrian diplomacy also succeeded in winning the aid of France because the French had not forgiven Frederick for his treachery in the preceding war. It was not an easy task, however, to make allies of the French and the Austrians, for they had been hostile for generations, and it was difficult to overcome long-established antipathies.<sup>1</sup> England and France had been at war in America since 1754, and because France joined Austria, England naturally turned to aid Frederick. England was Frederick's only ally; almost

<sup>1</sup>Sweden also joined the alliance, but played so small a part that Frederick later remarked that he did not know that he had been at war with the Swedes.

single handed he faced the greater part of Europe; his people, four and one-half million, were obliged to supply soldiers to meet armies from a population of sixty million.

Frederick was aware of the course of Maria Theresa's negotiations, and decided to strike first. When the Austrian queen failed to explain her armed preparations, he suddenly took possession of Saxony, as a defense against an invasion from Vienna. In the desperate war which followed Frederick displayed qualities of leadership and perseverance which carried him through many crises and earned for him the title of "the Great." At times, as after the defeat of Kolin, his case seemed hopeless, and he was ready to give up in despair. Even Berlin was captured and held for a time by his enemies. Undaunted, he raised army after army, his people supported him with their last resources, and abundant English subsidies furnished him supplies. His absolute command of all Prussian resources, the discord among his enemies, and his own consummate military abilities did the rest. He often fought against great odds, and his brilliant victories of Rossbach and Leuthen gave him the reputation of being almost invincible. His fame spread beyond the boundaries of Prussia; he became the first German national hero, and is today the demi-god of the military party in Germany.

Not even the best led armies and the most patriotic nation can indefinitely hold back a host of enemies. Years of extreme exertions finally exhausted Prussia, and Frederick would have been forced to submit if good fortune had not come to his relief. In 1762 the Czarina Elizabeth died and her successor, Peter III, ordered the Russian troops to face squarely about and aid Frederick. England and France negotiated for peace in the same year, and France withdrew from the conflict. These changes left Maria Theresa alone to face her great rival. She realized her helplessness and signed the peace of Hubertsburg in 1763. This agreement simply established the Status Quo, or the conditions which had existed at the beginning of the war. Frederick was thus left in control of Silesia, and the Prussian territories were rounded out upon the South. Only the Status Quo—and yet the war had cost Europe one million lives, and had fastened upon European states enormous public debts, under which they still struggle today.

#### RUSSIAN EXPANSION.

It has always been the misfortune of Russia to be shut off from the sea. This condition of affairs has delayed the commercial development, and has indirectly checked progress in all lines. Before the time of Peter the Great, the Russians had not awakened to their opportunities, and when that great ruler started the movement toward national expansion, he found the way to the sea blocked by other powers. The Swedes had long cherished the hope of making the Baltic a Swedish lake; they already had control of Finland and the lands east of the Baltic. The Russian outlet to the Mediterranean



was shut off by the Turks, who controlled Constantinople and the Bosphorus, and the lands surrounding the Black Sea. They possessed the lower Danube, and their armies more than once threatened the approaches to Vienna.

Men of resolution stubbornly force their way through to the desired goal, often unscrupulous in the methods which they employ. Peter the Great was such a man. He looked with longing eyes upon the Baltic provinces, for Sweden was at this time a decadent power. In 1697 the throne fell to Charles XII, a boy of fifteen, and the Czar at once leagued with Poland and Denmark to rob him of some of the Swedish lands. The boy proved to be a very capable military leader, more than able to hold his own. He struck before his enemies could act, and subdued Denmark in six weeks. He then invaded Russia, and with only 8,000 troops defeated Peter with 60,000 undisciplined men at Narva. Had he pressed his advantage he could have ended the war then and there, for Poland had already withdrawn from the alliance. Instead, Charles foolishly gave Peter time to reorganize his army and regain the lost ground, while he went into Saxony to punish Augustus the Strong, who was at the same time Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. In the interim Peter wrought desperately to create a disciplined army and an efficient artillery; he even melted down convent and cathedral bells to provide the necessary bronze for guns. During this time, also, he occupied the Baltic provinces and drove the Swedes out. On an island in the midst of the morass on the lower Neva he founded his capital, and called it St. Petersburg.<sup>①</sup>

Charles XII had despised Peter's efforts to create an army, and in 1707 he once more invaded Russia in order to make his conquests complete. The Russians even at that time knew what a strong ally they had in their severe climate, and they retreated far into the interior through districts where supplies were scarce. The terrible Russian winter weakened the Swedish army, and in June, 1709, they found themselves surrounded by Peter's army at Pultowa. There Charles lost his entire force and fled with only a few horsemen to Turkey. Thousands of Swedes remained as prisoners in Russia and later became valuable teachers of the backward Russians. The war was closed by the Treaty of Nystad in 1721. Russia restored Finland to Sweden, but kept the Baltic provinces and St. Petersburg. Thus one outlet to the sea had been secured.

Not all the lands which the Turks had conquered were Mohammedan in population. Constantinople, Asia Minor, and the shores of the Black Sea were occupied by thousands of Greeks. Certain districts of the Caucasus were ruled by Christian princes, though tributary to the Sultan. The districts of Moldavia and Wallachia on the Danube were Christian in population and government, although acknowledging the sovereignty of Turkey.

<sup>①</sup> Since the Great War of 1914 the name has been Petrograd.

The Attack  
on Sweden.

The Treaty  
of Nystad,  
1721.

Wars with  
Turkey.



Such conditions were favorable to Russian intrigues, and Peter hoped by some means to force his way south to the shores of the Black Sea. After the battle of Pultowa and before the end of the Northern War Peter pushed into the Danube provinces in order to force a cession of territory by the Turks. There he made the same mistake which his rival, Charles, had made at Pultowa; he allowed himself to be surrounded by the Turks on the river Pruth. He was defeated, and the Sultan allowed him to withdraw his army only on condition that he give up every claim to the Black Sea coast.

Russia was again at war with Turkey from 1769 to 1774, for Catherine the Great planned to drive the Turks out of Europe entirely. This war was more successful. Catherine secured possession of the Crimea and founded Odessa; she also established a protectorate over the Danubian provinces and over the princes of the Caucasus. This was a position full of opportunities for further interference in Turkish affairs. The nineteenth century was full of Russo-Turkish conflicts in which the Ottoman rule was pushed back step by step toward Asia, but at the beginning of the new century the question was still unsettled. Today Russia still looks toward Constantinople, and the Turks, with true Oriental fatalism, await the day of expulsion which they admit will surely come.

#### THE PARTITION OF POLAND.

Poland had long invited destruction. It was a mediaeval state which had never been quickened by the modern spirit of reform. It had an immense territory, a proud people, its own language and literature, but it had no natural boundaries, no army, no funds, and few industries. It had no middle class, that bulwark of governments; its society was composed of 12,000,000 serfs and 100,000 nobles. The state was full of a spirit of anarchy. At the head was an elective king with slight powers; the aristocratic diet was bound hand and foot by the principle of the *Liberum Veto*, which meant that every bill should receive a unanimous vote before it became a law. Lastly, three greedy neighbors, Prussia, Russia and Austria, carefully perpetuated and, wherever possible, aggravated the evil conditions in the land which they coveted.

**The Situation in Poland.**

The first partition of Poland took place in 1772. Catherine II and Frederick the Great were the moving spirits in this transaction and brought it about by a treaty with Austria. Russia received the largest amount of territory, but Frederick took over the very valuable districts which connected the province of Prussia with Brandenburg. This treaty came before the Polish Diet, and so great was the fear of Russia and Prussia that only eight or ten members dared to speak against it. The robber powers forced the Poles to ratify their own humiliation.

The Poles awoke to their danger, and set about it to strengthen their government. By the Constitution of 1791 they abolished the *Liberum Veto*, and sought by other reforms to unify themselves for

**The Extinction of Poland.**

resistance to the robber nations. The powers were not to be turned aside from their prey, however. Russia stirred up a revolt in Poland against the Constitution, and then interfered in favor of the rebels. Prussia and Russia then boldly cut off new slices of Polish territory while the powers of western Europe were too busy with the French Revolution to offer any resistance. The Polish King and Diet were forced to accept this second division, but a general uprising soon broke out against the hated neighbors. Under the lead of Kosciusko the Poles at first drove back both Russians and Prussians, but Austria also joined the spoilers, and finally the whole of Poland was subdued. In 1796 the third and last division put an end to the ancient kingdom which had lasted almost a thousand years. By the extinction of Poland Prussia received territory as far east as the river Niemen. The Prussian Kings thus received a Slav population and a persistent problem to distract the statesmen of following centuries. Russia's Polish territory brought the Muscovites to the heart of Europe but the incorporation of a hostile population also created a legacy of trouble for Russia. The people of the conquered territory are still Poles, unassimilated and irreconcilable, with a warmer patriotism than they ever had in the days of their kings, and with a fervent hope for the restoration of Poland.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Maria Theresa.       | 6. The Jansenists.                            |
| 2. Madame de Pompadour. | 7. King John Sobieski.                        |
| 3. Turenne.             | 8. Charles XII, "The Madman<br>of the North." |
| 4. The Great Elector.   | 9. The Methuen Treaty.                        |
| 5. John De Witt.        |   |

## CHAPTER VII.

### COLONIAL WARS.

In the introduction to the preceding chapter we found that the prevailing interest among European nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was national expansion. Stimulated by the new discoveries and inventions, the great European nations entered upon a period of physical and intellectual growth. As one phase of this expansion we have studied two centuries of conflicts waged for the purpose of territorial aggrandizement on the European continent. As another phase of the same struggle, we have an intense rivalry for colonial possessions.

The sixteenth century was the period of exploration and discovery. During that time five European nations developed their claims to the territories recently opened up in America and in India. In the beginning Portugal and Spain took the lead; they explored such extensive districts in the New World that the Pope actually divided the continent between them. They also secured the lion's share of the trade with the new lands. In spite of early drawbacks, the other powers gradually cut down the lead of the Spanish and the Portuguese. The English made piratical attacks upon the Spanish commerce, and the Dutch built up an enormous trade with the East Indies. To break this monopoly of the Dutch merchants the English created the East India Company in 1600. Almost simultaneously appeared the Dutch East India Company, and a similar French company.<sup>①</sup>

**Early  
Rivalry in  
Exploration  
and Trade.**

The greater part of the seventeenth century was given up to settlement. The Spaniards, Portuguese and Dutch being interested mainly in trade, made few settlements and developed their colonies very slowly. During this period, the rivalry for the colonial world gradually narrowed down to two powers, England and France. Spain and Portugal were growing constantly weaker in Europe, while England and France both fought Holland and destroyed her commercial supremacy. Under the powerful government of Louis XIV, France rapidly developed a colonial empire in America.<sup>②</sup>

The period of settlement, therefore, drew the lines and determined the points of support which each power was to have in the coming struggle. The English founded Jamestown in 1607, and following that date made settlements at many points up and down the Atlantic coast. In 1664 the Duke of York captured the Dutch port of New Amsterdam and England annexed New Holland; as a result the English had a continuous territory from Maine to the

**Rival  
Colonies.**

<sup>①</sup>These India companies were associations of private merchants who received charters from their governments granting a monopoly of the trade with India. These private companies had political rights over the districts which they secured in the Orient.

<sup>②</sup>This was largely due to the work of the great finance minister, Colbert.

Spanish settlements in Florida. Their sphere of influence covered the whole Eastern slope of the Appalachian mountains, and some of the colonial charters granted the territory straight through to the western sea. France settled Quebec in 1608, and then opened up the Great Lakes and the Mississippi river system. Marquette discovered the Mississippi in 1673 and La Salle floated to the gulf in 1682. At the close of the century there was a French fort at the mouth of the Mississippi and the French were making ready to claim all territory as far East as the top of the Appalachian mountains. At the same time Spain held Mexico, the greater part of South America, Texas, Florida, and the lands along the Pacific coast. Portugal had Brazil.

**India in  
1700.**

During the seventeenth century the stage was also being arranged in India. The first Portuguese who rounded the Cape of Good Hope had established trading stations in India to gather cargoes for the western trade. The organization of the great trading companies in England, Holland and France led to the growth of permanent foreign settlements in the East. In 1639 the English East India Company established a post at Madras on the eastern side of the Indian peninsula. In 1661 Charles II received the town and island of Bombay as a part of the dowry of his Portuguese queen. He shortly afterward turned this small territory over to the English East India Company to be administered with its other posts. In 1696 the English founded Calcutta in the great delta of the Ganges. To secure the proper site for a city they leased a tract of land for a long period of years from one of the native Indian princes. In 1675 the French founded the post of Pondicherry, about one hundred miles south of Madras. They also had a post in Bengal near Calcutta, and to balance the English post of Bombay in the West, they had the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean.

**The Second  
Hundred  
Years' War.**

At the close of the seventeenth century the time was ripe for the beginning of the great struggle between England and France. The prize was the scepter of Empire over North America and India. At first it was the ambitions and pretensions of Louis XIV in Europe which caused trouble. The colonial issue between the two countries was not seen in the beginning, but as time went on, this more vital question came to the front, although it was more clearly seen by the English than by the French. The great contest between the two countries was drawn out into a second Hundred Years' War. Beginning with the European alliance against Louis in 1689, it was not finally ended until the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815.

**Rival  
Colonial  
Systems.**

When England and France thus measured swords two different systems of colonial and home administration were opposed to each other. The French government, centralized, monarchical, paternal, was able to control its colonies closely and act quickly. Consequently, the French colonists left much to the home government and did little for themselves. Moreover, the French government was accustomed to grant special trade privileges to particular persons, and this



crushed out individual enterprise. The English government, leaving much to local assemblies and neglecting distant settlements, did not control its colonies so closely, and hence they became independent and self-reliant. Once founded, the English and French colonies in America developed along very different lines. The French went into the new country for three reasons: to trade, to explore, and to convert the Indians. The trader and the explorer could not remain stationary, and the missionary needed to follow the roving tribes. Hence the French made few settlements, established few industries and put only small tracts under cultivation. Since few French women went to the colonies, the French set up few homes, and what settlements were established grew very slowly. Many of the French married among the Indians, which practice, although it won the friendship of the savages, did not add to the French population of the colonies.

The English colonists, on the other hand, pushed out into the new countries to establish homes. They took along their wives and children and all their household goods. They did not mingle so easily with the Indians as the French but when they settled in a place, they established industries and began agriculture: it was practically certain that the settlement would be not only a permanent but a growing one. They had their own popular assemblies which made many of their laws. Unlike the absolute French governors, the English governors were from the earliest days largely controlled by these popular assemblies.

Thus advantages appeared on both sides at the beginning of the colonial wars. The French had better organization and control, the English more energetic colonists. France had four times the population of England, yet England's colonies were twenty times as populous as New France. The English had the advantage in more clearly recognizing colonial supremacy as the real issue, but the French were in the best location, in that they already controlled the great empire of the inland lakes, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi rivers. Between the English and the French, in the central position, were many Indian tribes, for the most part friends of the French.

The first part of the second Hundred Years' War was the colonial phase of the great war waged by united Europe against Louis XIV to prevent his seizure of the Palatinate lands along the Rhine. So little was the colonial issue understood in England and France that the war has no name except that of the king who carried it on. Nevertheless both French and English colonists in America understood the situation, and they were at each other's throats as soon as war broke out in Europe. The Indians needed slight encouragement to attack the English, and the American phase of the war consisted for the most part of Indian raids led by French officers. Bands of these "hairedressers" came down from the North on snowshoes and fell upon exposed New York and New England settlements.<sup>①</sup> They committed horrible outrages, but did nothing to decide

King William's War,  
1689-97.

<sup>①</sup> In February, 1690, the village of Schenectady was surprised and destroyed.

the war. An expedition from Massachusetts captured Port Royal in Acadia, but the post was given back to France by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Hence in this first colonial war not even an approach to a solution of the colonial problem was secured. More war was to follow immediately.

**Queen  
Anne's War,  
1702-14.**

The name Queen Anne's War is given to the American and East Indian side of the War of the Spanish Succession. In this contest the European problem of the union of France and Spain occupied the greatest attention, but Englishmen were also awake to the danger of a union of all the French and Spanish colonies. The commercial classes in England warmly supported the war in order to prevent a monopoly of colonial trade by France and Spain.

This colonial war was largely a repetition of the one which had just closed. There were French-Indian attacks upon exposed settlements. The colonists sent another naval expedition to the St. Lawrence and once more captured Port Royal, in 1710. In India, the rivalry was not yet intense enough to bring France and England into open conflict. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 England received from France Newfoundland, Nova Scotia,<sup>1</sup> and the lands around Hudson Bay. With Spain the English concluded an agreement called the Asiento, securing a monopoly of the trade in negro slaves with the South American colonies. This Asiento also gave England the right to send annually one merchant ship of 500 tons to South America. The greatest importance of the war from the colonial standpoint was that through it England became the greatest sea power and thus controlled the means of approach to all the colonies. France, on the other hand, not only lost her fleet, but was so exhausted by the wars of Louis XIV against Europe that she could have given the colonies only a faltering support, even if the French navy had still controlled the ocean. Although this war gave England some advantages, the actual possession of the colonial world was again left for future decision.

**King George's War, 1744-8.**—While Frederick the Great was taking territory from Queen Maria Theresa and all Europe was interested in the fate of Silesia, the French and English colonists in America continued their feud. During the years of peace following Queen Anne's War the French had multiplied their forts behind the English sea coast in America, and had then laid claim to all territory as far East as the forts of the Ohio River. Louisburg, Crown Point, Frontenac, Niagara, and Vincennes were all French forts in strategic positions, controlling large sections of country. In 1739 England went to war with Spain over some disputes regarding the treaty of Utrecht. France soon supported Spain because of the close relationship of the two royal houses. When France also joined Frederick the Great and others in an attack upon Maria Theresa in 1740, England naturally took sides with the opponents of France and aided Austria. Thus two very distinct issues were joined in the one war. To the English the colonial question was the more important.

<sup>1</sup>The Acadia of Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

During King George's War India first became a center of interest. At this time India was broken up into a large number of almost independent states, the wreckage of the great Mohammedan Mogul empire,—and within the states were many discontented factions. In their early years the great trading companies had avoided fishing in these troubled political waters, and had kept closely to their commercial interests. In 1741 the French East India Company appointed Dupleix, an empire builder, as Governor of all the French holdings in India. During his twenty years of preliminary service in that country he had developed the idea of a great French-Indian realm supported by alliances with native princes and defended by native troops. Such a plan meant the exclusion of other nations from the country.

**The War  
in India.**

**The Vision  
of Dupleix.**

As soon as Dupleix became governor of the French posts he began to carry out his design. He recruited bands of sepoys, or native soldiers, and trained them by means of French officers; he intrigued in many native courts against the English. The outbreak of King George's War sharpened the rivalry between the French and the English in India, for the latter quickly followed Dupleix' example in seeking native help. The two nations supported opposing factions in various states, and both antagonists fought with gold, promises, and threats. Dupleix was the first to draw success from the new policy, for the French fleet captured Madras in 1746. There was discord between Dupleix and the French admiral, however, and the French did not press their advantage. In the same year the English captured the strong French fort of Louisburg on the St. Lawrence. At the close of the war in 1748, the two fortresses were handed back to their original owners and the colonial issue remained unchanged.

**The French and Indian War, 1754-63.**—"At the close of the war," we have said in the preceding paragraph: the mother countries really did stop hostilities for a short time, and changed alliances, but in America and the Indies the contest continued, and for a decade the colonial question assumed first importance. In 1748, the same year of the "peace," the succession to the Deccan, the southern part of the Indian peninsula, became disputed. The English and French supported different claimants, but Dupleix with his native soldiers and his alliances with native princes was on the point of securing control for France of all southern India when he received a sudden check. In 1751, Robert Clive, a sickly English clerk, escaped from French capture and suddenly displayed a military capacity which completely restored English prestige. With less than 500 men he surprised and captured the fortress of Arcot, the capital of the chief native ally of the French. Besieged there by overwhelming numbers he successfully beat off every assault for fifty days. The natives rallied behind such leadership, and in the fighting which followed, Clive pushed the French back from all their earlier advantages. Shortly afterward Dupleix was recalled to France, for

**Robert  
Clive.**



the directors of the French East India Company were more interested in dividends than in the scramble for political control in India.<sup>①</sup>

The recall of Dupleix left the French without a capable leader. Lally, the succeeding governor, was not equal to the occasion, and he was poorly supported by the home government. The English continued the policy of organizing the natives against the French, and with the beginning of the Seven Years' War in Europe in 1756, they found their opportunity to expel their rivals from India altogether.

The Nabob of Bengal had captured the English post of Calcutta before the news of the war had reached India. He had confined 150 English captives in a small prison where most of them smothered to death. This atrocity of the Black Hole of Calcutta infuriated the English of the whole peninsula and drew a punitive expedition from Madras under Clive. The English easily recaptured Calcutta, took the French settlement at Chandernagore, near by and prepared to set up a prince in place of the Nabob. Before this could be done, Clive was attacked at Plassey in June, 1757, by an army of 50,000 natives and a small body of French, while his own force numbered only 3000 men. In spite of the great difference in numbers he scattered his foes in all directions and secured control of Bengal. This battle also proved decisive for all India, because the French strength had also waned in the South. The English were in control of the sea, and they shut off even the indifferent support of the government of Louis XV. The French posts were consequently left helpless and their capture was easy. The native princes fell away one by one, and finally Pondicherry itself was besieged by the English. When the last French station surrendered in 1761 the English were masters of all India.

**Plassey,  
1757.**

**The War in  
America.**

In America, English settlers had begun to make their way into the Ohio basin even before 1748, the year of the treaty between England and France at the close of King George's War. This territory was claimed by the French, and they ordered the English to leave. The command was disregarded, and in 1751 George II granted to the Ohio Company of colonists a large tract of land in the Ohio valley. In 1754 some Virginians under George Washington actually took possession of the forks of the Ohio, but were driven out by the French, who then built Fort Duquesne on the spot. In the following year a force of English and colonists under General Braddock attempted to capture this fort, but were driven back. This setback encouraged the Indians to commit many outrages along the frontiers. Hence hostilities had actually commenced, in America as in India, before the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe. To Europe the interesting question was the attempt of Maria Theresa to recover Silesia from Frederick the Great. In England the chief interest was centered in colonial conquests. French leaders made the mistake of

<sup>①</sup> The short-sighted French government likewise failed to comprehend Dupleix' statesmanlike plans for India. The incapable ministers of Louis XV made Dupleix responsible for the disasters in India, disasters due largely to their own neglect. They disgraced the great empire builder and he died in obscurity.



choosing a minor issue; they expended their best energies in Europe instead of in the colonies.<sup>①</sup>

The opening years of the American war were not successful for England, owing to poor management at home. The French had a very competent commander in General Montcalm, who not only threw off attacks on Canada, but captured the English forts of Oswego and William Henry in what is now New York State; he also built the advanced post of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. In 1757 William Pitt became prime minister of England, and he put new life into the war.<sup>②</sup> He reorganized the English army and navy, appointed new and efficient commanders, and furnished men and supplies in abundance. While supporting Frederick the Great with subsidies, he threw the entire English war force into the colonial struggle. The result was soon apparent, for the English easily broke through the line of poorly garrisoned French posts. In 1758, General Forbes captured Ft. Duquesne and called the place Pittsburg. Wolfe and the English fleet captured Louisburg, which controlled the entrance to the St. Lawrence; Oswego was recovered, and the English even took Ft. Frontenac, which commanded Lake Ontario and cut off the province of Louisiana from Quebec. In 1759 General Wolfe captured Quebec, the center of French power in Canada, and in the following year Montreal also surrendered. These successes gave the English control of all the French territories in America. The French were glad to secure peace and prevent further humiliation.

By the treaty of Paris in 1763, England received Canada and the territory East of the Mississippi from France, and Florida from Spain. To recompense Spain for this loss,<sup>③</sup> France ceded the territory of Louisiana, west of the Mississippi. In India France relinquished to England all political rights, retaining only limited trading privileges. Thus the war meant the loss of an Oriental and an Occidental empire to France, and a proportionate increase of English power. It made England the first naval and colonial power among the nations. While this war did not wholly solve the colonial problem, it went a long way in that direction.<sup>④</sup>

**The American Revolution, 1775-83.**—The war of the American colonies against Great Britain had a broader aspect than that of a mere struggle for independence. It was also a part of that great hundred-year duel fought by England and France over colonial pos-

<sup>①</sup> The superiority of the English fleet was partly responsible for this.

<sup>②</sup> Pitt was much more than a mere military organizer. He was the Great Commoner who forced his way to the head of the nation by sheer ability. His eloquence and upright character gave him a control over Parliament which shamed the corrupt political methods of the time of Walpole. He fought consistently for popular government, in America as well as in England, and later rejoiced in the resistance of the colonies in 1775.

<sup>③</sup> Because of the close relationship between the French and the Spanish Bourbons, Spain had gone into the war on the side of France in 1761.

<sup>④</sup> This war also had a decisive influence upon American history. It resulted in the establishment there of Teutonic and not Latin institutions, of the Protestant rather than the Roman Catholic religion. It cleared the way for the growth of democratic rather than despotic government.

sessions. The time had now come for the revenge of the French, and they gladly saw the hour approach. In 1778 they made an alliance with the American colonies, and Spain joined them the following year. Though France was bankrupt, and the country was restless unto revolution, the government found both money and men to aid the Americans. This aid was an important element in the American success, especially in the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in 1781. When England acknowledged the independence of the colonies by a second treaty of Paris in 1783, the French revenge was made full and complete, for the English thus also lost an empire, the fairest of their colonial possessions.

England and France were soon at war again and continued the contest until the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815. It was Napoleon's hope to crush England and restore the French navy and colonial empire, but it was only a hope, mingled with many other ambitions. During this titanic contest the colonial question often sank into the background; another matter was becoming more prominent, the problem of democracy and popular government. That question was already present in the American Revolution, it became dominant in the French Revolution, and was the ruling force in the history of the nineteenth century.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                               |               |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. An East Indian Factory.    | 5. John Law.  |
| 2. Frontier Life in America.  | 6. Vergennes. |
| 3. Early Colonial Assemblies. | 7. Gibraltar. |
| 4. <i>Evangeline</i> .        |               |

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND.

When William of Normandy went into England in 1066 he found a body of men there who elected the King and advised him as he governed. This Witan, or Council of Wise Men, was an aristocratic body appointed from the nobles by the King, and it had no connection with what we call the common people today. Many of the latter were serfs bound to the land in the condition of Scott's character Gurth in *Ivanhoe*. William adopted this Witan, and gave it the name The Great Council, but he appointed Normans to sit in it, and he took away its power to choose the King. A limited number of these advisers were drawn together into a smaller body called the King's Court.

**Under William the Conqueror, 1066.**

The kings who followed William did not have his ability, and a growing unrest became evident because of the wide powers which the King claimed. The greater nobles were not content merely to advise a king who followed no will but his own. They wished to have certain fundamental rights guaranteed under any sovereign. Finally, the extremely wasteful and despotic rule of King John "Lackland" aroused a formidable opposition, and the nobles forced him to sign the Magna Charta in 1215. Among other restraints upon the King's power was the provision that any outlay beyond the ordinary expenses of government must be granted by Parliament, thus establishing the principle upon which modern democratic government is based, that the people shall control the purse strings of the nation.

**The Great Charter, 1215.**

The years which succeeded the signing of the Great Charter were full of struggles between the King and the nobles, over the execution of its provisions. At last the principles of the agreement were recognized by every one, and in 1295<sup>1</sup> Edward I further liberalized the government by another important reform. He admitted the representatives of the common people into the Model Parliament which met in that year. Before 1295, only the nobles had sat in Parliament, but from this time on, some of the wealthier merchants and land owners were also included. As yet there was nothing like a popular government in the modern sense, for the masses of the English people had very little influence upon Edward's Parliament. The body as he created it had important powers, for it deposed his son Edward II in 1327, and it also set aside Richard II in 1399 for Henry IV. During the Wars of the Roses in the fifteenth century, the King had so far fallen in influence that he was often a mere puppet, at the mercy of Parliament or of some powerful noble.

**The Model Parliament, 1295.**

<sup>1</sup>This was first done in 1265 by Henry III, but Edward made the reform permanent.

**The Tudors  
Stronger  
Than  
Parliament.**

Henry VII, the first Tudor and the first modern sovereign in England, completely reversed matters, and made Parliament simply the register of the King's will. By the use of arbitrary fines and by forced gifts he extracted large sums of money from his people without the consent of Parliament. Nevertheless, he gave peace after years of civil war, and the resultant growth of industry and wealth caused the people to overlook his arbitrary acts. His son, Henry VIII, as we already know, found his Parliament equally complaisant in the matter of his divorce, as well as in the changes in church government. The later Tudor rulers were likewise very independent; the boy Edward VI and the morose queen Mary were both able to make their personal feelings count largely in national policies. Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, was by all odds the strongest element in the English government, in spite of the cloud over her legitimacy and the partisan feeling between Catholics and Protestants in England at the time. It is true, however, that Elizabeth was a woman of extraordinary ability and tact. It is also true that, in spite of her adroitness, at the close of her reign there was a general discontent in England because of the despotic power of the sovereign. Only Elizabeth's age and her popularity postponed the solution of the difficulty until the next reign. In 1603 James I inherited along with the fair crown of England some of the most complex problems of modern times.

**Contest between Parliament and the Stuarts.**—The greatest problem which confronted James took an entire century for its solution. It was connected with the matter of popular government. How far should the King control affairs? What restrictions should the Parliament have upon the King? Nowhere in Europe was the demand for a popular control of governmental functions so strong as it was in England in 1600. England was really following out an untried path, blazing a way for other nations to follow.

**James I.**

James I found discontent everywhere. The governmental expenses were light, and yet the people objected to paying arbitrary taxes. The Puritans, a sect which had still further reformed the English church of Edward VI, were clamoring for recognition and freedom from persecution. The hostility of Spain had also been bequeathed to him by Elizabeth, and the English were uneasy for fear of another Spanish invasion. Parliament boldly claimed the right to control taxation, to have freedom of speech in its meetings, and to bring the ministers of the King to trial to answer for despotic acts. If James had been tactful and politic by nature, if he had been a man of force to take charge of the situation vigorously, he might have assumed complete control. He had none of these qualities. In a loutish and clumsy figure he had a crotchety, pedantic mind. He had the faculty of always doing the wrong thing. He broke up a conference with the Puritans with such abruptness as to turn the whole party against him. He irritated Parliament by adopting the



two arbitrary Tudor courts—of the Star Chamber and High Commission—without even changing the names. As the most monumental blunder of all, he published a book in which he supported a view directly opposed to the growing sentiment in England, although this theory of the “Divine Right” of kings was the one generally held on the European continent at this time. By it James claimed that the King was the source of all law, and hence was above all law. The King, therefore, could set aside any law of Parliament by a simple declaration of indulgence. James sincerely believed in this principle, and in trying to carry it out he encountered many stormy times. Parliament opposed him openly, even to the extent of refusing to grant funds to carry on the government.

His son, Charles I, took up the quarrel with Parliament and refused to recognize its claim to a control of government finances. Parliament, therefore, presented a formal Petition of Right in 1628, demanding control of taxation, the abolition of arbitrary imprisonment and the quartering of troops upon citizens. In answer Charles dissolved Parliament, and for eleven years—1629-40—he ruled without any legislature. During this time he secured funds for the government by the Courts of the Star Chamber and of High Commission, and by arbitrary taxation. He put the civil administration in the hands of harsh, rough Lord Strafford, who with his watchword of “Thorough,” aimed to establish an absolute despotism, even more complete than that of the Tudors. Charles made the narrow, pitiless Laud Archbishop of Canterbury with the result that the Puritans were bitterly persecuted. At first the country submitted to such violence, but in 1637 the King started a train of events which led up to the Great Rebellion, and to the loss of his throne and his life.

**Charles I.**

**“Taxation.”**

With absolute disregard for English law and custom he tried to collect ship money from inland towns. Since this had been in former times a special assessment paid only by coast cities to resist invasion, John Hampden refused to pay his share. After a famous trial he was convicted, but his courageous stand influenced others to resist the King. At the same time Charles was in trouble with Scotland. As king of England he was head of the English Church, and, though of Scotch descent, he tried to force upon the Scotch Presbyterian churches the English service and government. The Scotch people vigorously opposed his plan and entered into a national covenant to defend their worship; they also organized an army and appealed to France for help. Later they moved upon England and Charles was forced to summon Parliament in 1640 to resist the invasion.

**Ship  
Money.**

**The Scotch  
Revolt.**

This Long Parliament was the instrument which started an assault upon the King’s prerogative in England, resulting in the overthrow of the Divine Right theory of the Stuarts. The Long Parliament did not vote supplies to aid the King against the Scotch until after it had passed a number of great reform measures, and Charles dared not dismiss it until he had received his war funds. The Parliament

**The Long  
Parliament,  
1640-1660.**

first proceeded against the King's ministers, on the theory that they, and not the King, had been responsible for the abuses of the long Personal Rule. Lord Strafford was executed by warrant of a bill of attainder and later Archbishop Laud met a similar fate for having persecuted dissenters from the English Church. Charles was cowed by the threatening attitude of Parliament and abandoned both his lieutenants to their fate, although he had been responsible for their acts. Parliament also abolished the Star Chamber Court and the Court of High Commission; it passed the Triennial Act, making it obligatory upon the King to call Parliament at least once every three years.

The King was unwilling to accept these great changes, and a considerable body of the English people were of the same mind as Charles I. He first tried to arrest five of the leaders of Parliament, but they slipped away from him; he then left London and made Oxford his capital in order to be free to assemble an army to force Parliament to submit. His party, called the Cavaliers,<sup>1</sup> held the North and West of England and the country districts; they included the nobles and the adherents of the Episcopal church. The Roundheads, or parliamentary party, had their strength in the South of England, in the cities and in the Puritan sects. The war went on for four years, but the parliamentary forces, skilfully led by Oliver Cromwell, really brought the King to his knees as the result of two battles, the decisive contests of Marston Moor and Naseby.

Had Charles accepted the decision of the war, he might have remained the ruler in England with large powers. He would not admit that he was beaten, for he had the characteristic Stuart obstinacy, and he tried to undo the entire reform program by the devious ways of intrigue. His own party, the Episcopalian, had been defeated by a combination of the Presbyterians and the Independents. The Presbyterians of Scotland actually handed him over to the Parliament when he fled northward after the battle of Naseby. Nevertheless, even while a prisoner, Charles undertook to break up the alliance between the two Puritan sects. At the same time that he was promising faithfully to honor the parliamentary reforms, he was negotiating with the Scots to overthrow these reforms. He agreed to restore Presbyterianism in Scotland, if the Scotch would rescue him from the English. Cromwell uncovered his designs and scattered the Scotch army which invaded England, but even then Charles would not deal fairly with his conquerors, and the soldiers began to demand stern measures with him. The Presbyterians had a majority in Parliament, while the army was Independent. To prevent further intrigues between the King and the Presbyterians, Colonel Pride visited parliament with a body of troops and forcibly expelled the Presbyterian members from the hall. "Pride's Purge" not only saved the reforms of the Long Parliament, but it removed all the friends of the King from Parliament. This done, the motives

<sup>1</sup>These parties were the predecessors of the Tories and the Whigs of the eighteenth century.

**The  
Civil War,  
1642-46.**

**Charles'  
Double-  
dealing and  
Execution.**

of prudence and revenge caused the leaders of the army to bring the King to trial for treason. Tried by a court of his enemies, which represented only one of the three great religious parties, Charles was convicted of tyranny, treason, and murder. He was executed on January 30, 1649.

The execution of the king did not level all the obstacles to the restoration of peace in England. The Irish refused to recognize the authority of the "Rump" Parliament, and Cromwell took his ever victorious army across the Channel. He subdued the Irish, but spoiled his honorable record by the cruel massacre of one of their garrisons. The Presbyterian Scotch also remained unreconciled to the supremacy of the Independent party in the English Parliament and army, and opened their gates to Charles Stuart, son of the late king. Cromwell returned from Ireland to invade Scotland, and fought two fierce battles before the Scotch were subdued. With all armed opposition thus destroyed matters still did not run smoothly in England. By the removal of the king the chief executive officer had been taken away, the House of Lords was no longer in existence, the remaining fragment of the House of Commons was a clumsy executive body—and it was in disrepute, as a mutilated legislature. Many persons therefore turned to the one strong force in the country, the army headed by Oliver Cromwell. After the execution of the king the new government had called itself the Commonwealth. In 1653 the Parliament made Cromwell Lord Protector of the Commonwealth.

**Disorders  
Following  
the Execu-  
tion of the  
King.**

The country gentleman who thus became the uncrowned King of England, in addition to extraordinary administrative and military ability, had many of the qualities of the great Puritan movement. He had its plainness merging into ugliness, its hatred of show, its rugged piety, its seriousness. His aim was to heal the injuries of England and settle all disorders. To that end he ruled with vigor and wisdom, first establishing peace and then restoring prosperity. He adopted a strong foreign policy; he developed the English navy, and fought the Dutch for the control of the colonial trade. In England his authority was well established, for he relied upon his well-trained army to carry out his will. Like the Stuarts, however, he was often harassed by his jealous parliaments, with the result that more than once he forced a dissolution and ruled alone. Thus was the earlier despotism reestablished, the only improvement being that it was now an enlightened, rather than an unenlightened despot, who was in control. Nevertheless, in spite of Cromwell's personal sincerity and his extremely successful administration, England writhed under the destruction of long established institutions and fretted because of the oppression of the standing army. When, therefore, Cromwell died in 1658 leaving no one capable to take his place as Lord Protector, a strong sentiment swept over England for a restoration of the Stuart family, and this feeling was shared and stimulated by General Monk, at the head of the army. The surviving

**The Rule of  
Cromwell.**



members of the Parliament of 1640<sup>3</sup> met and called to the throne the oldest son of Charles I. A new Parliament was then chosen representing all parties in England.

#### The Restoration.

The Restoration Period lasted from 1660 to 1688. It was the time of the second trial of the Stuart sovereigns. It closed the long struggle between king and parliament and resulted in a victory for the latter, as the predominant force in the English government. Charles II started out well, determined to profit by the experience of his father. Parliament, too, was conciliatory, for England did not wish another interregnum. The new Parliament was strongly Episcopalian and very intolerant; it gave more attention to punishing dissenters than it did to forcing the reforms of the Long Parliament upon Charles II. On his part, Charles left the Parliament alone so long as he was allowed funds sufficient for his pleasures. Nevertheless, behind the mask of a "Merry Monarch," he gradually acquired influence with powerful nobles by his pleasant ways and deft intrigue. This influence became particularly strong over the Catholic leaders, and Charles soon felt strong enough to carry out his one great plan. This was nothing less than the reestablishment of Roman Catholicism in England. Charles hoped to bring it about by the aid of France, whose king, Louis XIV, was a bigoted Roman Catholic. In 1670 Charles made a secret treaty with Louis at Dover by which France was to support Charles II with money and men in return for his reestablishment of the Roman faith; Charles was also bound to aid the French in their wars on the Continent. Although the exact terms of the treaty were not known, the English people soon became suspicious of the King. Parliament began to pass laws against the Catholics. One of the most important of these was the Test Act of 1673, which forbade any Catholic to hold a civil or a military office in England. When Charles appreciated the extent of the unrest among his subjects he gave up his plan, and simply accepted gifts of money from France in order to be more independent of Parliament. The English people remained much excited about Popery,<sup>2</sup> especially because the heir apparent, the Duke of York, was an avowed Papist.

#### Charles II.

#### James II.

When the Duke of York became King James II in 1685, he faced a situation of extreme delicacy, which called for the most careful treatment. If he retained his throne he would need to convince a suspicious people that both their liberties and the Protestant religion were secure. James was a rough, blunt character who believed that a straight line was not only the shortest but the best path between two points. His religious convictions were clearer and more sincere than those of Charles, but he had less tact and suavity of manner. So he at once set about his task of restoring the Roman Church in England. To undo the intolerant laws of the Episcopal Parliament

<sup>1</sup>No Parliament during the interim was regarded as legally elected.

<sup>2</sup>This excitement caused people to believe in the Popish Plot of 1678. A picturesque adventurer named Titus Oates told a wild story of a Jesuit plot to murder Charles and establish Roman Catholicism in England. The government passed laws against the Catholics and actually put some suspects to death.



of Charles he resurrected the obsolete Declaration of Indulgence, and freed all non-conformists from persecution, Puritans and Quakers as well as Roman Catholics. He appointed Catholics to positions of importance in defiance of the Test Act; he forced the trial of seven bishops who refused to promulgate his declarations of indulgence. In two years he had destroyed all the good will which greets a new monarch. The birth of a son and the probability of a permanent Catholic regime brought on a revolution and the final expulsion of the Stuarts from England.

The Revolution of 1688 was a bloodless one, although decisive in its results. Practically all classes of Englishmen distrusted James, and consequently a large number of the leading men joined in a letter of invitation to William of Orange to go to England and save Protestantism and English liberties. William of Orange was the hereditary prince of the Dutch Netherlands. He was himself related to the Stuarts and he had married Mary, the Protestant daughter of James II. William was a Protestant and was well-known for his tolerant views. He welcomed the invitation, for he needed England at this time in the formation of a great European coalition to check the aggressions of France. He landed in England with a Dutch army in November, 1688, and immediately the current set in toward his camp. Public men of all stations rushed in to offer their support, while the army of James broke up without offering any resistance. William marched in triumph upon London, and his father-in-law, deserted by all, fled to France. Parliament then declared the throne vacant and offered it to William and Mary as joint sovereigns.

**The Revolution of 1688.**

The Parliament was thus in a position of advantage which was entirely out of accord with the theory of the Divine Right. Holding firmly to this advantage Parliament made certain conditions under which the new sovereigns might mount the throne. In the first place the great Bill of Rights of 1689 outlined various fundamental principles which had been the cause of dissension for generations. Parliament was to control finances; the King was to have no dispensing power; no Catholic could be chosen sovereign of England; there was to be absolute freedom of debate in Parliament. A little later the Triennial Act called for at least one session of Parliament every three years; and the Mutiny Act gave the control of the army to the Parliament. William objected to these restrictions upon the King's powers, but Parliament was in a commanding position and he finally accepted the terms. William and Mary thus became the first parliamentary sovereigns.

**Parliament Laid Conditions Upon William and Mary.**

The broad powers which Parliament thus forced from the Stuarts in the seventeenth century were still further added to during the eighteenth century. This increase was also at the expense of the sovereign, and came about through the weakness of the successors to the Stuarts. In 1714 a line of German princes, the Hanoverians, came to the English throne. George I, the first of these rulers, knew little of English life, less of English government, and nothing at

**The First  
Two  
Georges  
Relinquished  
Further  
Powers.**

all of the English language. He was forced to depend upon those about him to carry on the details of government, and he did not regret turning over such tasks to his ministers, for his interests lay in the German state of Hanover. His son, George II, was also too German to be a useful sovereign of England and he likewise depended upon ministers to do his work for him. In time, therefore, the custom grew up of leaving the details of government to others than the King. William of Orange had been his own prime minister, and had directed affairs within the limits imposed by Parliament. The first two Georges allowed even these powers to be exercised by a minister and a corps of subordinates, called the Cabinet.

**Robert  
Walpole  
and Cab-  
inet Govern-  
ment.**

The minister most responsible for the establishment of cabinet government was Robert Walpole. He made his way into office under George I during the financial crisis following the collapse of the South Sea Bubble. He showed great skill in restoring confidence after that orgy of speculation, and was the virtual ruler of England from 1721 to 1742. He was a great peace minister; under him trade flourished, wealth increased, and the public debt began to shrink. However, as there was nothing stirring or picturesque in peace, so there was nothing picturesque in Walpole. His practical common sense kept him goodnaturedly at his country's business even in the face of constant abuse. He avoided friction wherever possible, even to the extent of neglecting to enforce the laws against dissenters and Catholics. He was coarse, vulgar, and immoral; in fact, a typical product of eighteenth century conditions in England. He was greedy for power and was none too careful of the methods by which he secured it. His enemies charged that he debauched the government by wholesale bribery. What he did was to rule by the methods in vogue at the time. He kept his Whig majority in the House of Commons not only by the distribution of patronage, as is done today, but by a liberal use of sinecure offices and pensions. His Tory enemies, robbed of the spoils, then set up an outcry which has reëchoed down to the present. The important consideration is that Walpole, exercising tremendous powers won in the long contest between the King and Parliament, looked constantly to a majority in the House of Commons for support, and when that majority failed him, he resigned. Furthermore, he made the other cabinet officers subordinate to himself and thus became the first Prime Minister. In short, he developed the fundamental principles of cabinet government amid the political practices characteristic of his time.

After Walpole's fall cabinet government continued its development. For a time George III attempted to limit the powers of both Cabinet and Parliament, and restore the supremacy of the King. His failure led to still greater inroads upon the power of the sovereign until today the Cabinet is the real executive body in England, while the King retains only his social preeminence. As in the case of the Cabinet, so with the Parliament itself—the period of change did not close with Walpole. The Parliament of his day, as, indeed, of all

earlier times, was not a Parliament for the whole people. It represented only the noble and wealthy classes. The great reform of Parliament, the development of a really popular government, the establishment of a control over the cabinet by the common people, was a movement left to the nineteenth century.<sup>①</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Chapter XI for a statement concerning the Reform Bill of 1832.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. William Penn.        | 6. The Jacobites.     |
| 2. The Popish Plot.     | 7. Admiral Van Tromp. |
| 3. Dean Swift.          | 8. John Hampden.      |
| 4. Dr. Samuel Johnson.  | 9. Early New York.    |
| 5. The Navigation Acts. |                       |

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS.

At the same time that the English Parliament was struggling with the sovereign for the control of the government, the continental states of Europe were also ruled by despots. This despotism was often as absolute as that of the Tudors; as in England, also, the continental advocates of despotic rule developed a theory of government to defend centralization of power. The continental despotism did not yield to the parliaments, but held its ground so stubbornly that it later caused the tremendous outburst called the French Revolution.

The despot was no uncommon historical phenomenon. As the tyrant he appeared in the ancient world, the most famous examples being the tyrants of Athens and Syracuse. Such a ruler was not necessarily bad, but his powers for good or evil were almost unlimited. There were no restraints upon his will except in extreme cases, those of assassination and revolution. The Roman emperors were likewise despots, and despotic rule continued through mediaeval times, although the institution of feudalism often took away from the predominant powers of the sovereign. It has been one of the tasks of modern times to set forth and develop the idea of popular government, or the control of affairs by the people.

**The Power  
of the  
Despot Over  
Property.**

Those sovereigns who created the modern states of France, Spain, and England had despotic powers. The idea that the King was above all law had a peculiarly tenacious hold, and as one of the principal parts of the Divine Right theory was not uprooted until the seventeenth century, even in England. From this point of view the State was much like the private property of the sovereign. A very large portion of the land was administered as his own estate. Even lands owned by private citizens were closely controlled by monopolies and decrees as to exports and imports. There was generally no distinction between the treasury of the nation and the private purse of the sovereign, and taxes paid with great difficulty by the people were often expended on the most trifling pleasures of the King. The sovereign looked upon the coinage of the country as his peculiar right and did not hesitate to debase the coins when in need of money, thus robbing his subjects on a truly imperial scale.

**Over  
Persons.**

The despotic sovereign also claimed control of the persons of his subjects. Not only were the peasants on the crown lands bound to the soil like so many oxen, but the highest in the land were not free to go abroad or move about at home as they pleased. The despot could arrest a man without a warrant, and keep him in prison uncounted months without a trial. If the enmity of the sovereign or public policy demanded it, the prisoner might be put to death, and no force could save him. Such a ruler could fix the religious belief



of his country, and destroy all whom he called unorthodox. He could make laws, or set aside laws, for he was supposed to be the fountain of justice. He could, and often did, wage wars for his own personal ends, whether it was for the punishment of squib writers in foreign newspapers or merely to add to the glory of his reign.

**Louis XIV of France, a Despot.**—One of the greatest of these modern despots was Louis XIV of France, the Grand Monarch, a close relative of the Stuarts of England. When he assumed control of the French government in 1660 he found a splendid opportunity. His country was progressive, wealthy, and loyal to the sovereign. France contained many able men who were ready to serve faithfully in subordinate positions. French prestige was in the ascendant, for on one hand was broken and unprogressive Germany, on the other was exhausted and decadent Spain; and England after the Puritan Commonwealth was ready to take up the monarchical system again entirely.

Louis XIV began his work in the spirit of the personal despot. He became his own prime minister and, aided by a circle of extremely capable subordinate ministers, he supervised even the smallest details of government. Louis carried out the policy of centralization to an extreme. He destroyed what remained of local self-government and directed everything from Paris through a great network of officials called a bureaucracy. He destroyed the local power of the nobility by establishing an enormous court at which he required the nobles to be present. With such unified control, with such capable servants, French influence rapidly spread throughout Europe until French agents and French gold shaped policies in foreign states. French fashions ruled in foreign courts, and French ideas and the French language went into foreign schools. Paris became, in a sense, the capital of Europe. At home, art and literature forgot their independent search for truth and beauty, and vied with each other in flattery of the Grand Monarch.

**Centraliza-  
tion of  
the Govern-  
ment.**

Under Louis XIV the monarch was the State. Nevertheless, this exaltation of the sovereign did not bring unmixed blessings. Louis tried to establish religious uniformity, and revoked the tolerant Edict of Nantes. Three hundred thousand Huguenots then left the country, taking away much wealth, seriously injuring French industries, and proportionately aiding Germany and neighboring lands. He squandered the labor of thousands and vast sums from the treasury on superfluous palaces. He involved his country in a series of colossal wars which decimated the population, consumed the wealth of the country, and started France toward that bankruptcy which introduced the great Revolution. His reign was a long one, the French enjoyed their domination of European affairs, yet when Louis died in 1715 the country broke out into songs of joy.

**Evils of the  
System.**

A contemporary of the Grand Monarch was also a despot, although in a different way. Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, ruled from 1640 to 1688. At the close of the Thirty Years'

**The Great  
Elector.**

War his territories lay in three distinct localities: on the Rhine, around Berlin, and at the southeast corner of the Baltic Sea. These territories were very poor, very backward, and, with the exception of Brandenburg, they had but a slight sense of loyalty to their prince. The Great Elector created an effective standing army, crushed out local liberties, and unified his government through a bureaucracy of officials, for that was the only way to develop his disunited territories. An independent existence was out of the question for these small states, because there were powerful, greedy neighbors on every side. The Great Elector fought these enemies and forced them to respect his lands, but he engaged in no wars from personal motives. His rule was patriarchal, but he developed the country.<sup>①</sup> He laid down no law limiting religious belief, but cordially received the French Protestants, who taught his people many things about agriculture and manufacturing. Frederick William was a thorough-going despot, but he built no gorgeous palaces, and his simple mannered court did not bankrupt the nation. His was an unselfish despotism—it always sought the good of the State; to the State it subordinated the individual, even the sovereign.

Enlightened  
Despotism.

This characteristically Hohenzollern view of a despotism for the good of the State had a far-reaching influence. The political thinkers of the eighteenth century developed the idea and called that system of government an "enlightened" despotism. This theory taught that the sovereign was not the State, but the first servant of the State; in order, therefore, to serve the State well, the sovereign should have absolute powers, for one chosen individual would be wiser than the people as a whole. The individual subject had no right to oppose the decrees of the ruler, for absolutism was necessary to progress. Fortified by this theory, the Enlightened Despots who followed the Great Elector on the thrones of Europe made sincere efforts at reform. They tried to lessen the power of the Roman church; to improve education; to better the condition of the serfs; to promote religious toleration; and to develop commerce and industry.

Peter the  
Great of  
Russia.

Russia has always been the home of absolute government; the Russian despots of the eighteenth century were Peter the Great and Catherine II. They found Russia an oriental state with undeveloped government and many divisions; their problem was to Europeanize it. They did so by despotic means, in the spirit of the Enlightened Despots. Peter came to power in 1689. Though a barbarian himself, he knew the value of western civilization, and as far as possible he forced the Russians to adopt it. He brought in western teachers for the schools and trades.<sup>②</sup> He put the details of government into the hands of a western bureaucracy. He forced his courtiers to cut off their beards, and exchange their robes for western dress. He

<sup>①</sup>He constructed a great canal connecting the Elbe and Oder rivers.

<sup>②</sup>In 1697 Peter himself made a journey through western Europe in order to learn as much as possible at first hand.

brought the Russian women out of their harem-like seclusion and caused them to give up the veil. He introduced a new coinage, and opened new mines and factories. He made himself head of the Russian church, and disbanded the Streltsi—the famous royal guards who had sometimes been strong enough to depose the Czar. He perceived the disadvantages of Russia's land-locked position, and like a good administrator of a vast estate, he undertook wars to secure an outlet to the sea. He fought the Turks in order to get an approach to the Black Sea, and by the Treaty of Nystadt in 1721, he forced Sweden to relinquish the provinces east of the Baltic and south of Finland. He then set out to build for himself a new capital city on the marshes of the Neva. The obstacles were very great; he was obliged to raise the islands and deepen the channels. For the task he called in thousands of peasants, and forced them to work under terrible conditions and with the crudest of tools. It is said that 100,000 persons perished in the new city the first year.

Catherine II succeeded Peter in 1762, following a number of unimportant rulers. She was a German princess who secured the throne by the deposition of her half-crazy husband. She had carefully read the French philosophers, and fully accepted the theory of Enlightened Despotism. Her practice, however, was often modified by Russian conditions. She aided in building canals and roads, and in improving agriculture; new cities sprang up under her care. She granted religious toleration to all—even to Jews and Mohammedans. When the Jesuits were suppressed in western Europe, Catherine found a place for them in Russia. She took Peter's plan for the increase of Russian territory, and obtained a permanent foothold on the Black Sea where Peter himself had campaigned in vain.<sup>1</sup> Most despotic act of all, she joined Austria and Prussia in the partition and extinction of the kingdom of Poland. This partition was in response to no popular command; it was purely a personal move on the part of Catherine, but it opened the Russian windows upon Europe.

**Catherine  
II.**

There were other reforms which an enlightened ruler might well consider, but they were impossible even for Catherine. The great size of Russia, the ignorance and immaturity of the lower classes, the passive resistance of the privileged orders, often checked her hand. Catherine had ambitious plans for an improvement of the school system, and for the foundation of hospitals, but funds were lacking.<sup>2</sup> The condition of the serfs called for attention, and she was personally in favor of emancipation; but this plan met the opposition of the nobles, to whom she owed her elevation to the throne. A gigantic uprising of the serfs forced her to aggravate matters by putting those poor dependents still more completely under the control of the lords.

**Defects of  
Catherine's  
Rule.**

<sup>1</sup>On a voyage to the Crimea in 1787 she passed under an arch bearing the inscription "The Way to Byzantium." Since the time of Catherine, the Czars have planned to take Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup>This was due partly to the extravagance of Catherine herself, who squandered great sums on spectacles and favorites.



**Joseph II.**

Joseph II of Austria was likewise a sincere believer in the theory of Enlightened Despotism, but he showed less tact than Catherine in introducing his reforms. Consequently he attempted more than she did and accomplished much less. His ideal was nothing less than the transformation of Austria into a unified, homogenous state, with German as the official language. The task was an impossible one, for Austria was a veritable museum of races and languages with only the Emperor and the Roman Catholic church in common. These nationalities hated each other so fiercely that amalgamation was out of the question, even in the crucible of foreign invasion.

A formidable opponent of Joseph II was his own mother, Queen Maria Theresa, who had fought bravely Frederick the Great for the possession of Silesia. Mother and son were joint rulers in Austria and could not agree upon a policy. Maria was an ardent Roman Catholic and wished to give special advantages to that church, but Joseph believed in religious toleration. The mother was an aristocrat, favored a system of privileged classes and had small use for the "enlightened" philosophy of her son. Joseph II continually emphasized the needs and rights of the common people. On the side of the queen were the Roman clergy and the powerful Vienna court, and hence Joseph's reforms made slow progress.

After his mother's death in 1780, however, Joseph had a free hand, and he made many and rapid changes. He abolished hundreds of monasteries and devoted their property to the establishment of schools and libraries. He curtailed the privileges of the clergy and laid down rules for the conduct of church services. In 1781 he issued an Edict of Toleration granting freedom of thought and worship to all religious sects. He seemed to be on the point of setting up a national Austrian church, and his independent attitude toward the Pope gave rise to the name of Josephism. The Pope was so alarmed at conditions in Austria that he took the uncommon step in 1782 of going to Vienna to restrain the Emperor in his hostile course. Joseph treated his Holiness as a prisoner during his stay in Vienna and persisted in making the church in Austria more independent of Rome.

Joseph II was deeply moved by the condition of the serfs in his territories. In various journeys through the land he had found that they were absolutely dependent upon the lords. He accordingly did much to abolish all serfdom and forced labor. Like other rulers of his time he sought to improve commerce by building roads and canals. For the benefit of commerce in the Netherlands he tried to open the river Scheldt, which was controlled by the Dutch. He reestablished the Ostend Company to trade with the East Indies.

Joseph also tried other reforms. He wished to revise the assessment of property in the Empire; he reorganized the administrative districts; he tried to change various manners and customs which displeased him.<sup>①</sup> In foreign affairs he developed a plan for the exchange of the Netherlands for the more accessible Bavaria.

<sup>①</sup>For the sake of economy he forbade the use of metal candlesticks and wooden coffins.



In spite of his activity and sincerity, all these reforms were destined to fail, because they were introduced too rapidly and with too little preparation. They antagonized all the privileged classes at the same time, and by their very number bewildered the people and caused a general fear because of the unsettled conditions. Revolts against the reforms broke out in Hungary and the Netherlands, and Joseph's plan to acquire Bavaria was prevented by Frederick the Great and a league of German princes. Misunderstood at home, suspected abroad, Joseph withdrew many of his reforms in 1790 just before his death. He is said to have dictated the following for his epitaph: "Here lies a king who designed many benefits for his people, but was unable to accomplish any of them."

The best known Enlightened Despot was Frederick the Great of Prussia. This great-grandson of the Great Elector took up the latter's unfinished work in 1740. He was a true Hohenzollern in his glorification of the Prussian state, and in his belief that that end could best be brought about by the sovereign himself. Although he had spent his youth in dabbling in music and letters and in quarrels with his father, he devoted himself with unexpected application to his new business of being king. He also showed unexpected military and diplomatic ability. That his rule was a pure despotism can be seen, not only from the fact that he directly owned one-third of the arable land of the kingdom, but that all government officers were responsible, not to the people, but to the King. Many of these officers were not Germans, yet under the King's orders they had the widest governmental powers. Capricious and even violent in temper, Frederick carried his despotism even to the point of kicking or striking those who opposed him. Yet so brilliant were his exploits, especially in war, that he became a hero to Germans far beyond the confines of Prussia, and he received the affectionate title of "Uncle Fritz."

**Frederick  
the Great.**

Frederick's wars were waged with the purpose of rounding out his territories and building up a unified state. With this thought in mind he was not always careful to be honest in his dealings with other states. On his own initiative, and not following a popular demand, he tore away the province of Silesia from Austria, and he was largely responsible for the partition of Poland. In so doing he utterly disregarded the popular will in these two countries and sacrificed the confidence of other great states. In the Seven Years' War,—his desperate struggle to retain Silesia,—he wasted his country to the point of exhaustion. It is true that in the end he retained his booty and thus nearly doubled Prussian territory; his people felt that the end had justified the despotic means.

**His Wars.**

Frederick's peaceable measures were much more commendable than his conduct in war, but equally despotic. To build up his territories after the war, he determined to advance agriculture. He distributed money, seed, and supplies by the wholesale; he introduced new plants and developed the culture of the potato, even against the opposition of the farmers. He aided in the reclamation of waste

lands by draining great marshy tracts. The country population was sparse in some localities, and hence he took up the colonizing plan of the Great Elector. He established recruiting stations at Frankfort and Hamburg and drew in settlers from other German states by liberal offers of land and supplies. So successful was this policy that about three hundred thousand foreigners settled in Prussian territory during Frederick's reign. When his work was finished, practically one-third of the Prussian population were colonists or the children of colonists. Frederick also fostered manufactures. He greatly aided silk manufacture by importing raw silk and thousands of silk worms. He brought in Spanish sheep to supply a good grade of wool, and he developed porcelain-making to a high degree of excellence. To aid Prussian commerce he constructed roads and canals and organized a commercial company to trade with the East Indies.

Frederick the Great made elementary education compulsory for all of his subjects, an example which has been followed by the great modern states. In religious views Frederick was himself an agnostic, and he granted complete religious toleration in his realm. Moved by the rationalistic spirit of his time he tried to smooth out existing irregularities in the legal and criminal systems. He abolished torture as a means of securing evidence against an accused man. Late in his reign he appointed a commission to review the laws of the land and construct a code which would be just and consistent.

**His  
Limitations.**

It is not given to any one man to be right all the time, even if he be a great king. Frederick's financial policy, for example, was not always a benefit to his country. He debased the coinage of Prussia and thus caused great business unrest. He believed that money should not be allowed to leave the country and, therefore, he forbade many kinds of imports. This action caused similar prohibitions on the part of other countries and consequent injury to Prussian trade. He was by nature avaricious and miserly. While this trait induced an economical administration, it meant crushing taxation; practically everything taxable was levied upon,<sup>1</sup> salt heading the list. To prevent the use of smuggled salt, the despotic king made a ruling that each family must purchase a certain amount of government salt each year. Under the handicap of Frederick's financial policy Prussian business conditions improved very slowly. Yet at his death the Prussian treasury contained a surplus of nearly forty million dollars.

There were other Enlightened Despots<sup>2</sup> besides the great rulers mentioned in these paragraphs. Some sovereigns were influenced by the doctrine, without giving themselves up to it fully. Few, if any, of the real leaders of the time remained untouched. Men were becoming reasonable enough to recognize the obligation and responsibility of those in positions of authority. Yet in spite of its great

<sup>1</sup>He laid a tax upon Hessians passing through his territories, (as he said) the same as upon any other cattle which are bought and sold.

<sup>2</sup>Leopold II of Tuscany, brother of Joseph II, was one of these.

extent the whole movement was doomed to failure, because it was based on unsound principles. Either the despotism centered in one person ceased to be enlightened and ran into excesses, or the reforms were not based upon a popular demand. They were not understood, and they found the people either indifferent or openly hostile to a change. The great popular reforms were to come in the nineteenth century. They were to spring from that great democratic awakening which followed the American and French revolutions. When the people came to appreciate their power and their needs they secured permanent reforms.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                           |                                |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. European Serfdom.      | 4. Colbert.                    |
| 2. The French Parliament. | 5. Eighteenth Century Prisons. |
| 3. Versailles.            | 6. Expulsion of the Huguenots. |

# CHAPTER X.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

### CAUSES.

The French Revolution came from two trains of causes which had been at work long before the luckless Louis XVI came to the throne. One set of causes, a mass of feudal privileges and exemptions, based upon the principle of inequality, had been outgrown by the French nation, but was still maintained at the close of the eighteenth century. The other group of causes developed from a spirit of change, of disregard for established institutions, of impatience with intrenched injustice. This spirit grew so strong that it could not wait for a gradual making over of French institutions. It changed them suddenly and violently. That change was the French Revolution.

**Inequality of the Old Regime.**—The inequality of the *Ancien Régime*<sup>①</sup> was evident at every turn. Individual liberty was not assured. On an arbitrary command from the King, called a *lettre de cachet*, a person could be thrown into prison and kept there for months without trial. The King had the power to force the peasants to work on public roads or public buildings without pay. This *corvée* was bitterly hated in all quarters. Even at home on his little parcel of ground, the peasant had few rights. He was often obliged to pay feudal dues to the noble of the vicinity, though the latter had long since moved away to Paris, and no longer fulfilled his share of the feudal contract. The restrictions concerning hunting and game were some of the most hated of these feudal obligations. The noble and his friends could ride over the crops in pursuit of game; the fences were not to be made so high as to check the hunt. The game wandered over the peasant's crops, doing great damage, but he was not allowed to kill any, or even drive it away. The King and court had special hunting privileges, for within forty-five miles of Paris the farms were without fences so that the royal hunts might not be disturbed.

### Finance.

The French financial administration was full of abuses. Not only were vast sums wasted, but the taxes were not fairly assessed. The burden upon the peasant was so great that he was crushed into the earth and often became merely a half-starved pack animal. On the other hand, the nobles and the Church were practically free from taxation; it was regarded as mean and vulgar to pay taxes. The method of collecting the taxes was a very crude one and open to grave abuses. Some kinds of taxes were farmed out to tax collectors. These men collected not only what they had paid the government, but as much more as they could wring from the people of their districts.

<sup>①</sup>This was a term applied to the entire system of government as it existed before the French Revolution. It means "The old order of things."



One of the most hated of the French taxes was the *taille*. This was a direct tax, paid upon land, and borne for the most part by the peasantry. In addition there was the poll tax, a direct tax per head, and the unpopular salt tax called the *gabelle*. The injustice of the latter is almost incredible to modern students. In the first place, each family was obliged to purchase a certain quantity of salt each year. If any of this salt remained at the close of the year, the penalty was a fine. The price of salt was different in the different French provinces, but no one was allowed to supply himself in the cheapest market. Such action was regarded as smuggling, and smuggling either from one province to another, or from other countries to France, was punished by heavy fines and banishment to the galleys.

It was bad enough to be the victims of unfair taxation; it was maddening to see the national resources squandered on worthless projects and persons. Louis XIV had wasted millions on his great palaces and on costly wars. The people of France had paid submissively, for the glory of France. Under Louis XV there were more wars, and more palaces, but little glory. Under Louis XVI the extravagance continued. Marie Antoinette, the young Austrian queen, spent great sums, and the assistance sent to the American colonies cost heavily. Louis supported a great court of four thousand persons exclusive of his guards. There were pensions and sinecure positions for every one who could secure an influence at court. There was no way of telling what the income or the expenses of the actual government were, for the purse of the King and the public treasury were the same, and no accounts were published.

**Extravagance.**

The inequality of the *Ancien Régime* was also well illustrated in the Church and in the army. The common soldiers were recruited from the peasants, and none of them could rise to a position as high as that of captain. While in the ranks they were not carefully provided for and they suffered many physical hardships. The officers belonged to the noble class and for them good salaries and comfortable quarters were provided. In the Church all the higher positions were filled by members of the noble families, who often owed their appointment to influence at court. These men were generally inefficient, and often did no church work at all. Nevertheless, they consumed a great part of the income of the Church, sometimes shamelessly taking from \$50,000 to \$200,000 a year. The lower clergy were poorly paid,<sup>1</sup> and yet thousands of them were sincere in their work and were beloved by their congregations. These men were chosen from among the common people, and in the struggles of the Revolution they naturally opposed the upper clergy and the privileged aristocracy.

**The Church and the Army.**

The worst thing about the French system of government in 1789 was that it had no way to mend itself. There were no government agencies which could gradually replace the bad by something better. Louis XIV had established an absolute monarchy, which had been continued by Louis XV. The popular assembly, the States General,

**An Outworn Despotism.**

<sup>1</sup>They had an average income of \$140 a year.

had not met since 1614, and people had even forgotten how to hold elections for it. France was governed from Paris by means of intendants, or governors, in the various provinces. These mouthpieces of the King had absolute powers, and have been called "The Thirty Tyrants" of France. There was but one will in France, that of the King, and whenever he happened to come under the influence of a bad man or a bad woman, the result was disastrous for France. This system of absolutism had once made France strong, but it was outgrown in 1789. It was out of date because the French people were becoming too intelligent to endure such an anomaly any longer. Their eyes had been opened by the great teachers and the great events of the eighteenth century.

Opponents  
of the  
Ancien  
Régime.

Probably the greatest of the men who attacked the inequality of the old order of things was Voltaire. Living from 1694 to 1778, this remarkable man dominated the entire century preceding the French Revolution. As a young man he had seen the empty glories of Louis XIV, and his old age took him to the very eve of the Revolution. As a writer he was very versatile, sending out volume after volume on all subjects, in an almost endless series. He was more than a literary man; he startled the nation into a state of mind where it began to think for itself. He tried to follow Reason as a guide, and with sharp wit and caustic satire, he repeatedly called upon men to destroy what was unreasonable in Church and State. It is true, Voltaire was not always reasonable himself, and his opposition to the Church carried him into attacks upon the Christian religion, but in the main his influence was good.

Other great writers contributed their share toward the creation of a spirit of revolt against established abuses. Montesquieu traveled in England and saw what powers the people had in that country. He returned to France, and in 1748 published his great work, "The Spirit of the Laws." In this book he began the modern scientific study of government, and taught the French people that sovereignty, or the ultimate source of authority, should be placed in the people, and not in a hereditary king. Jean Jacques Rousseau found a great following at this same time by teaching that men should go back to the simple life. He said that the savage, without government, was the ideal man, because he was free. He said that governments and courts and taxes were later additions, and though probably often necessary, were to be tolerated only so long as the people cared to let them remain.

An important company of scholars suggested remedies for the economic evils of France. These Physiocrats (1756-76) believed that trade and agriculture should be developed as widely as possible. They called for more freedom of action in industry, they wished to abolish the customs lines between provinces, and they wanted a freer trade with foreign nations. Their great rallying cry was, "Away with restrictions, leave the roads open."<sup>①</sup> The greatest of the Physiocrats

<sup>①</sup>The famous French saying, "*Laissez faire, laissez passer.*"

was Turgot, who was Finance Minister for Louis XVI in 1775-6. He established free trade in grain, abolished the trade guilds, and collected a surplus in the national treasury; but his reforms and economies displeased the privileged classes and they forced his removal. Nevertheless, France had had a taste of reform administration and longed for more.

The French people also had an object lesson in the matter of popular government in the results of the American Revolution. In America they saw the common people in action, forcing their independence from the mother country, drafting a constitution and organizing a new government.<sup>①</sup> Furthermore, they had one of the American common people in their midst; Benjamin Franklin, the printer from Philadelphia, was an example of Rousseau's natural man. As a representative of the new government, the sly old doctor was the lion of the hour in Paris. His simple ways and quaint speech captivated the French, and drew their admiring attention to the democracy which had produced him.

**The  
American  
Revolution.**

#### THE COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

Louis XVI was a man of good intentions, but unready in making decisions and unsteady in his policies. His Austrian queen, Marie Antoinette, was extravagant, tactless, and heartily disliked by the French people. The government was nearly bankrupt and the country was full of discontent everywhere. Although Louis wished to mend matters and called in various reform ministers, he was always opposed by the queen, who was supported by the reactionary court nobles. Against such a combination Louis was not the man to carry out an independent policy, and his reform plans always came to nothing. Turgot started important reforms and was removed from office early in the reign; Necker, another finance minister, was forced to resign in 1781 by this same court influence. The King then turned over the treasury to a court favorite, Calonne, and this man landed the government in open and complete bankruptcy. Calonne then called an assembly of the chief nobles<sup>②</sup> of the kingdom to consider the situation, but he could suggest only the reform measures of Turgot and Necker. The nobles refused to give up their privileges or allow equality of taxation, and adjourned without doing anything substantial to improve matters. By this time the situation was so desperate and there was such widespread suffering<sup>③</sup> in France that Louis consented to call together the States General, the long neglected popular assembly.

**Attempts  
at Reform.**

Politically speaking, the French people were divided into three classes—the nobles, the clergy, and the common people, or the Third Estate. The two privileged classes numbered about 250,000; the

**The States  
General.**

<sup>①</sup>The United States Constitution was adopted in 1788-9, the years of the outbreak of the French Revolution.

<sup>②</sup>This was the Assembly of Notables which met in 1787.

<sup>③</sup>Nature seemed to fight for reform at this time. There was a crop failure in 1788 and the winter of 1789 was one of the severest on record.



Third Estate, 25,000,000. In the States General the commons had 621 members, the other two orders together had 593 representatives. The elections to this assembly were held amidst high hopes, the delegates receiving instructions called *cahiers*. The great Assembly met in Versailles on May 6, 1789.

The question at once arose, how should this Assembly vote, as individuals, or as classes? If by individuals, then the common people would be in control; if by classes, the two privileged orders would dominate everything. The King and court wanted the vote by classes and tried to force that method upon the delegates, but the representatives of the Third Estate promptly came together in a handball court near the King's palace and took oath to vote only as individuals, and not to disband until they had given France a constitution. They were joined by a large number of the lower clergy, but a few days later the King ordered the three estates to meet and vote as separate bodies. The popular leader, Mirabeau, boldly replied that only the bayonets of the army could force them to submit. The King then gave in, and ordered the other two classes to join the Third Estate as a national assembly and to vote as individuals. Such vacillation boded ill for the sovereign in the coming upheaval.

**The First Year of the Revolution.**—The Assembly set to work at once upon a constitution, and kept at the task during 1789 and the following year. Although the meetings were public, and the people knew that thorough-going reforms were being outlined, there was great unrest throughout the country. Exaggerated hopes that the millennium was about to dawn for France were confused with dark fears that the Queen and the court would once more smother all plans for improvement. On July 14, 1789, a mob formed in Paris and captured the Bastile, a very strong prison. The gloomy old fortress was then completely demolished, for the people had long associated it with arbitrary rule. Next, the events of August 4, 1789, raised French enthusiasm for the New Regime to the highest pitch. The Assembly had by that date reached the point of feudal privileges, and the sentiment was strong for their abolition. On the night of this memorable day, representatives of the privileged classes vied with each other in renouncing<sup>1</sup> the advantages bequeathed to them by a past epoch. Finally, on August 27 the Assembly formulated the constitutional rights of man based upon freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion, security of property, the principle of equality before the law.

Reforms.

The enthusiasm of August was dampened by the growing suspicion that the King and his court were planning to overthrow what had been done. Many nobles left France during the summer of 1789; the governments of Prussia and Austria began to take an unfriendly interest in the events in Paris; the people noticed that troops were gradually growing more numerous in the vicinity of Versailles. A wild mob led by women<sup>2</sup> made its way from Paris out to Versailles

<sup>1</sup>There was a frenzy of enthusiasm. Many nobles gave up their feudal privileges at great loss to themselves.

<sup>2</sup>The rabble even broke into the palace and threatened the Queen.



on October 5, 1789, ostensibly to demand bread of the King. They finally insisted that the court be transferred to Paris, and to this Louis weakly consented. He put on the cockade<sup>1</sup> of the revolution and rode into Paris in the midst of a nondescript crowd which shouted, "We have the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy. Now we shall have bread." The Assembly followed the King a few days later, and thus made its first great mistake. It placed reform in the hands of the wild mob of Paris.

The  
"October  
Days."

For the time being, distrust of the King and the court was quieted. During the winter of 1789-90 the Assembly was busy with two very difficult problems, which absorbed its entire attention. To improve the financial situation, the Assembly at Mirabeau's suggestion began to issue paper money. These notes, called *assignats*, were not redeemable on demand, but were secured by the royal lands in France. They were made legal tender, but their rapid depreciation seriously injured trade, and served to increase the financial troubles of the government. This issue of *assignats* was closely connected with another problem. As a further security for the depreciating paper notes, the Assembly seized the property of the Church. It then assumed the payment of the salaries of church officers, and completely reorganized the church government. By the new system all church officers were elected by the people, instead of being appointed by the Pope or his representatives. This Civil Constitution for the Clergy aroused great opposition, and the majority of the bishops refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new government. The Pope issued a bull against the administration of the Church by civil authorities, and a large district<sup>2</sup> in southwestern France prepared for revolt.

Assignats.

The Church.

**The Second Year of the Revolution.**—While these problems were occupying the attention of the Assembly the King was recovering some of his popularity. On July 14, 1790, a vast assemblage of over four hundred thousand people came together on the Field of Mars in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of the overthrow of the Bastille. Mass was celebrated at an immense altar and amid the greatest enthusiasm, the King then led the great multitude in taking an oath of allegiance to the new system. The people now fully believed in the King's sincerity; he would probably have kept his throne if he had but taken Mirabeau as his chief adviser in the following months. However, the Queen disliked the great vagabond,<sup>3</sup> and LaFayette, leader of the liberal nobles, was jealous of him; hence Louis wavered as to what course to pursue. With his final rejection of Mirabeau the opportunity passed,<sup>4</sup> and succeeding events robbed him of practically all popular support. The emigrant nobles who had left France organized troops on the north-

<sup>1</sup> A rosette of red, white, and blue ribbon, worn on the hat.

<sup>2</sup> La Vendée.

<sup>3</sup> Mirabeau's private life was not above reproach.

<sup>4</sup> The death of Mirabeau early in 1791 removed the wisest moderate leader of the Revolution. He could have made up for the most striking defects of Louis XVI, for he was positive, decided, and far-seeing.

ern borders and urged the governments of Austria and Prussia to interfere in France. The King was suspected of being in sympathy with the plans of the nobles; on June 21, 1791, he actually made the attempt to escape from Paris to the royal army in Lorraine.<sup>①</sup> He was captured and taken back to Paris as a prisoner. Finally, on August 27, 1791, Austria and Prussia issued the unwise Declaration of Pilnitz, threatening to take up arms in defense of Louis XVI. These were abundant reasons for the general popular distrust of the King; nevertheless, when the Assembly finished its two years' labor in September, 1791, and Louis swore to uphold the new constitution, he regained a measure of popularity. Many men thought that the revolution was over, and that peace and order were in sight.

The new constitution made the mistake of cutting too deeply into the powers of the King. It provided for one chamber of popular representatives, who had the chief powers of government. The King had only a suspensive veto over legislation; he could only postpone for a time the passage of bills to which he was opposed. The constitution provided for many excellent reforms, among them the reorganization of the army on the principle of equality of opportunity; but it had not solved the problem of French finances, and it was faced by a very dangerous dispute with the Roman Catholic church.

**The Third Year of the Revolution.**—The second popular Assembly<sup>②</sup> of the French Revolution, the body elected under the new constitution, was in session less than a year, from October 1, 1791, to September 21, 1792. During this time France gave the constitution a trial, but in the end set it aside. The currents of reaction and radicalism were too strong to be controlled by any one less titanic than a Napoleon. The emigrant nobles, the reactionary powers of Europe, the majority of the Roman Catholic leaders in France, and many of the wealthy middle classes were in favor of a limitation of the reforms and an increase of the power of the King. Against them was the populace<sup>③</sup> of the large cities led by Marat, Danton, and Robespierre in Paris. These radicals with good reason distrusted the sincerity of the King, and suspected him of waiting merely for a favorable opportunity to overthrow the constitution. They carefully nourished the spirit of fear which began to spread over France, and started an agitation for the abolition of the monarchy. To further this movement, and to prevent an invasion by the emigrant nobles who were collected in Germany, the radicals in the Assembly declared war on Prussia and Austria on April 20, 1792. Louis did not oppose the step, for he was relying upon those same powers to rescue him from his insignificant position under the new constitution.

<sup>①</sup>The flight toward Lorraine was also in the direction of the army of the emigrant nobles. Naturally, the people believed that the King had tried to join the enemies of the Revolution.

<sup>②</sup>The Legislative Assembly; the first was called the National Assembly.

<sup>③</sup>Public opinion was influenced by political clubs organized in the chief cities of France. The most important of these organizations were the Jacobins, who at first defended the constitution but later attacked the monarchy.

The Con-  
stitution.

War With  
Prussia and  
Austria.

The war started out badly for France. The army was in poor condition; it soon gave way and exposed the French frontiers to the Prussian and Austrian allies. Some of the French generals were not entirely loyal to the new government and Queen Marie Antoinette actually forwarded the French plan of campaign to the Austrians. As the allies crossed the French boundary a great fear took possession of France, for no man knew whom to trust. Strangely enough, it was the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the allies, who aided the French in this time of danger. On July 15, 1792, he sent out a proclamation threatening severe punishment for all opponents of Louis XVI. This ill-judged act stirred up French patriotism,<sup>1</sup> rallied multitudes of supporters to the revolutionary government, and really numbered the days of the monarchy. On August 10 the mob of Paris broke into the Tuileries, the royal palace, slaughtered the Swiss guards, and carried the royal family away as prisoners. The Assembly then suspended the constitution and called a national convention to set up a new government. Until this body could assume control, affairs were left in the hands of a committee of the Assembly.

**Manifests of  
the Duke of  
Brunswick.**

This makeshift government faced a great crisis. A dangerous revolt broke out in La Vendée in favor of the Church and the King. The Duke of Brunswick pushed on toward Paris, while thousands of friends of the Old Regime waited complacently for the overthrow of the reform government. In this time of excitement the government threw into prison in Paris some three thousand persons who were suspected of being out of sympathy with the revolution. Brunswick continued to advance and on September 2, Verdun fell. The approaching danger goaded the Parisian mob to madness and in the opening days of September they broke into the prisons under the direction of Marat and the city government of Paris, and slaughtered<sup>2</sup> hundreds of the sympathizers with reaction. In these "September days" over one thousand persons were killed in Paris alone, and the massacre was imitated in other French cities. The desperate effort served its purpose. The terror inspired by this violence quieted opposition to the government and stimulated opposition to the allies. Shortly afterward the invasion was checked at Valmy and a breathing space was gained for the distracted French people.

**The Sep-  
tember  
Massacres.**

**France a Republic.**—The third popular assembly of the French Revolution met on September 21, 1792, and declared France a republic on that same day. The assembly contained two parties. The Girondins were from the provinces; they stood for moderation, a decentralized government, and they wished to save the life of the King. The radicals, or Jacobins, had their stronghold in Paris; they favored a highly centralized government, still more radical reforms than had yet been secured,—and they demanded the execution of

<sup>1</sup>At this time a band of republicans from Marseilles arrived in Paris singing a stirring new song. It became immediately popular as the song of the Revolution.

<sup>2</sup>The Princess Lamballe was murdered because she was the close friend of the Queen.



the King. After a fierce struggle, the radicals had their will, and the unready Louis was removed from the stage on January 21, 1793. He was condemned, as a political necessity, and on insufficient evidence, but facts disclosed since his execution prove his unfaithfulness to the constitution which he had sworn to uphold.

**Execution  
of Louis  
XVI.**

Soon after the death of the King the French ship of state was in still more troubled waters. After the success at Valmy, the French armies had become fired with enthusiasm for the principles of the Revolution, and the French leaders were all too ready to use force to secure liberty for any of the downtrodden peoples of Europe. In self-defense a vast coalition of practically all the European sovereigns was organized in the early months of 1793. The purpose of the alliance was to check the spread of those liberty doctrines which might easily bring other sovereigns to the scaffold.

**War with  
Europe.**

The danger to France was great. The revolt in La Vendée continued, the armies of the allies checked the republican troops, and the best French general, Dumouriez, went over to the enemy on April 4, 1793. It was a time demanding harmony in the central government, but the Girondins continued to fight the radicals in their efforts to carry on the war vigorously. On June 2, 1793, therefore, the government of the city of Paris, aided by a mob, forced the Assembly to arrest and expel over thirty of the Girondin leaders. This left the radical party in control, and the extreme measures of these radicals endangered the earlier and substantial reforms of the Revolution.

**Overthrow  
of the  
Girondins.**

Conditions soon appeared which disclosed a return to despotism, for the Assembly felt itself obliged to use terrorism as a principle of government. Because of the vast foreign war, and the revolt of Lyons, Marseilles, and La Vendée against the Jacobin government, the leaders in Paris could not be nice in their choice of measures. They determined to frighten people into supporting the government by the simple method of executing all opponents. This Reign of Terror lasted from October, 1793, until July, 1794. It restored order in France and repelled invasion, but with tremendous losses for France.

In this crisis the real government of France was in the hands of twelve members of the Assembly, called the Committee of Public Safety. They ruled France by means of decrees, and sentences were passed by various revolutionary tribunals, chief of which was the one in Paris. Many of the individual members of the Assembly were sent on missions throughout France to spy out suspected persons. They kept special watch upon the generals at the front. In Paris and other centers there were regular daily executions of those suspects<sup>1</sup> who had been condemned by the revolutionary tribunals. The ghastly work was done with neatness and dispatch by the guillotine, the huge sliding knife which had just been invented by a Dr.

**Reign of  
Terror.**

<sup>1</sup>The Law of Suspects was made so broad that arrests were easy. Any one of noble birth, any one who had held political office under the Old Regime, any one who could not show that he had made sacrifice for the Republic, was held to be a "suspect."



Guillotin. The system was inaugurated in Paris in October, 1793, with the execution of fifty persons.<sup>1</sup> Among these were the Queen and a score of the Girondin leaders.

Revolt in the provinces was crushed with similar terrorism. The Vendéans were shot in companies and drowned by boatloads. In Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, hundreds perished for opposing the Paris government. The decree was once given out that Lyons should be totally destroyed. In Toulon the representative of the Assembly claimed to have put to death every person connected with the revolt against Paris.

The conduct of the foreign war was as vigorous as the administration of the Terror. Carnot, in charge of military affairs on the Committee, put into the field almost a million men, and he organized all France to fight the giant combination against the Republic. The French generals were forced to do their utmost for the cause, because failure might mean condemnation and death for them at the head of the army. These stern measures and the enthusiasm of the republican armies pushed back the lukewarm invading forces of the allies, and by 1794 France was safe once more. The Committee had done a great deal in a short time; it had established order at home, and had repulsed attack from abroad.

During this period of extreme measures to maintain order and repel invasion, the Assembly had proceeded to more extreme reforms. The calendar was changed, the title of "Monsieur"<sup>2</sup> was replaced by "Citizen," and, for a time, some radicals in Paris tried to introduce a new religion, a vulgar, riotous worship of Reason. The Law of the Maximum gave the Assembly the right to fix the price of food, and punished by death any violation of its provisions. The Assembly did not hesitate to infringe upon the popular liberties won in the early days of the Revolution, for freedom of thought and the right of trial by jury were taken away. On the other hand, not all the decrees of this Assembly were ill-advised. It abolished slavery, and imprisonment for debt, and set up a system of public instruction.

**Extreme  
Reforms.**

Early in the year 1794 people began to hope for the end of terrorism, for the danger to France seemed past. The leader of this sentiment in the Assembly was Danton, who wished to return to moderate measures and a constitutional government. He was opposed by Robespierre, who wanted to establish a fanciful<sup>3</sup> commonwealth, after his own peculiar ideas, and also by those persons who, because of the part they had played in the Terror, dared not face a return to moderation. These radical leaders succeeded in overcoming

**Last Days  
of the  
Terror.**

<sup>1</sup>By the close of the Terror in July, 1794, over two thousand persons perished in this manner in Paris alone. Over half of these were executed during the rule of Robespierre.

<sup>2</sup>The extreme hatred of the Old Regime is shown by the acts of violence against the royal tombs in the church of St. Denis. Some of the royal bones were taken out and thrown into a ditch.

<sup>3</sup>In his state there were to be no servants, and children under sixteen were to eat no meat. Children were to be educated together at state expense. Every citizen would be compelled to publish a list of his friends.

Danton and he was sent to the guillotine in April, 1794. His removal made Robespierre dictator, with the opportunity to carry out his narrow views. He centralized every governmental activity in Paris and forced from the Assembly a law to put to death all enemies of the people. These "enemies" were those who opposed the government, even in the slightest degree. Under the stimulus of this terrible law, the guillotines worked<sup>1</sup> industriously for several weeks longer. The hideous despotism could not long endure, and on July 28, 1794, Robespierre was overthrown, and hurried to execution along with other radicals.

With the fall of Robespierre, the Reign of Terror ceased, and the moderates came into the control of the Assembly. They emptied the prisons of suspects, suppressed the Jacobin clubs, and brought the most radical of the terrorists to trial. The mob of Paris tried once more to browbeat the Assembly into submission, but at the risk of their lives the deputies stood firm for moderate measures. The upper classes in Paris then armed themselves and saved the Assembly, which soon arranged for a new form of government in the constitution of 1795. By this system the government was to be in the hands of a directory of five men, and the laws were to be made by a congress of two houses. Before the new government could get upon its feet, it was compelled to suffer still another murderous Parisian attack; this time from the reactionaries and the middle classes, for the French capital still believed in mob control of the government. Barras, the commander of the French troops, entrusted the defense of the Assembly to a poor Corsican clerk, lately discharged from the artillery service. This man coolly planted his cannon, waited for the mob to approach, and then blew the remnants of the French Revolution into space. This new actor on the stage of French history was Napoleon Bonaparte.

From this time the Directory was free to develop a new government, profiting by the experience of the past six years. Grave problems of internal pacification and foreign war confronted the new government, but the storm center was past. Prussia and Spain had signed the treaty of Basle with France but a few months before the new government was established. By this treaty France received the long coveted Rhine boundary toward Germany. England and Austria continued the war, but France with her veteran army could well hope for success.

<sup>1</sup> In June and July, 1794, 1,376 persons met their death on the Paris guillotine.

#### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. The Declaration of Independence.        | 5. Jay's Treaty.       |
| 2. The American Constitutional Convention. | 6. Edmund Burke.       |
| 3. The Ordinance of 1787.                  | 7. Charles James Fox.  |
| 4. Hamilton's Finance Measures.            | 8. Pitt the Younger.   |
|  | 9. Turgot.             |
|  | 10. Benjamin Franklin. |

## CHAPTER XI.

### NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

**The Directory, 1795-1799.**—With the establishment of the Directory, the French people hoped for peace. They wished order and security with a chance to enjoy the hardly won principles of the Revolution. These principles were at variance with the prevailing systems of government in Europe. The French eagerness to aid other European peoples to secure greater liberty, and the growing general interest in French reforms forced the old governments to fight the Directory. England, although not directly opposed to the French principles of government, was opposed to the expansion of French power, especially in the Netherlands. Therefore, the Directory could look to no friendly nation; it inherited a legacy of war from the Revolution. It was war at a time when every care of the comparatively weak government should have been given to pacifying distracted France.

**The  
Directory  
Forced  
Into War.**

The backbone of this great coalition against France was Austria. Against the Emperor the Directory held two splendid armies on the German border, and a third and smaller force to operate in the Austrian territories in Italy. Barras, one of the five Directors, secured the appointment of Napoleon Bonaparte to the command of this third army, because of his success in saving the Directory from the Paris mob. Bonaparte set out for Italy early in 1796, shortly after his marriage to an attractive creole adventuress by the name of Mme. Beauharnais. The new commander was almost unknown at the time, but he made his influence felt as soon as he reached the army. His men were poorly organized and poorly cared for, but he soon electrified them with some of his own irrepressible energy and started them off on a career of victories which delighted France and startled stately Austria. By quickly deciding what to do, and by an uninterrupted and very speedy advance when he had once decided upon a course of action, he won battle after battle and forced the Italian allies<sup>1</sup> of Austria to make peace; he then hustled the Austrians unceremoniously out of the northern part of Italy. One of the most famous of these engagements was at the bridge of Arcola, where Bonaparte showed his personal bravery by seizing a banner and aiding in the attack upon a very strong position. He captured the strong fortress of Mantua from the Austrians early in 1797, then took his troops across the Alps toward Vienna and forced Austria to sign a peace. He negotiated this peace at Campo Formio in October, 1797, almost independently of the Directory. Austria ceded Lombardy to France and Bonaparte allowed the Emperor to take over the republic of Venice instead. Austria also consented to the extension of the French territories to the left bank of

**The First  
Italian  
Campaign.**

<sup>1</sup>Sardinia, Naples, the Pope, Parma, and Modena. These states secured peace by gifts of money and priceless art treasures.

the Rhine. Shortly afterward, the French government organized central Italy into the Roman Republic, and Switzerland into the Helvetian Republic. These new governments were based upon the principles of the French Revolution and were dependent upon France.

Bonaparte returned to France as a national hero. Paris is always seeking for some one to lionize; consequently the young general was covered with honors. The small men of the Directory feared him, although they recognized his vast ability. Already popular feeling was turning against the Directory; people were thinking of Bonaparte as the savior of the State. He saw his opportunity, but thought that the time was not yet ripe for action. He determined to strengthen his position by other military exploits. Although Austria was humbled, England still continued the war. The Directory had planned an invasion of England, but Bonaparte did not favor the attempt. He wished to attack English colonies and commerce; he wanted to capture India<sup>1</sup> by a successful invasion of Egypt. The Directors were pleased to have such a dangerous rival far from France, and Bonaparte was glad to leave the Directory to embarrass itself hopelessly in its own inefficiency.

**Expedition  
to Egypt,  
1798.**

With his victorious Italian army he set sail for Egypt in May, 1798. He occupied the island of Malta on the way, and landed safely at Alexandria, after a narrow escape from the English fleet under Nelson. He was soon in possession of the lower Nile valley, though the native horsemen<sup>2</sup> made some spirited assaults upon the invaders in the Battle of the Pyramids. The French then crushed out all opposition by wholesale executions, while numerous scholars<sup>3</sup> who accompanied the expedition studied the rich treasures of Egyptian archaeology. The Sultan of Turkey declared war on France, in defense of his Egyptian province, and Bonaparte invaded Syria and won some fruitless victories there. The fate of the entire Egyptian expedition was decided upon the sea. Nelson suddenly attacked the French fleet in August, 1799, and completely destroyed it in the Battle of the Nile. This great disaster cut Bonaparte off from France and made further offensive movements in Egypt impossible. Events in Europe soon gave him a much more promising field for his activities.

William Pitt, the chief minister in England, and the implacable foe of France, had organized a great European alliance<sup>4</sup> against the French in 1798. The Directory was not able to oppose so many enemies, and disasters multiplied. The French armies on the Rhine were quickly doubled back into France; the new republics in Italy were overturned and the old princes were restored. Only by desperate fighting in the Alps could Massena prevent an invasion of

<sup>1</sup>The Orient always had a strange fascination for Bonaparte. He wished to imitate the conquests there of Alexander the Great.

<sup>2</sup>The Mamelukes. They called Bonaparte the "Sultan of Fire."

<sup>3</sup>It was at this time that the Rosetta stone was discovered.

<sup>4</sup>This alliance included Austria, England, Russia, Naples, Portugal, and Turkey.



France by the Austrians and Russians through Switzerland. The Directory was hopelessly discredited, and both royalists and radicals began to plan for its destruction. Jacobinism began to recall the terrorist days of the Revolution and the Directory was planning the most extreme measures to maintain its position. At this critical time, October 9, 1799, Bonaparte landed in France. He had gathered about him his best commanders, deserted the Egyptian army, and slipped between the English ships patrolling the Mediterranean. His journey to Paris from the seacoast was one long triumphal procession.

Bonaparte arrived in Paris at precisely the right moment for his success—the moment when all parties distrusted the Directory, and that body no longer trusted itself. On November 9th<sup>4</sup> by an unconstitutional action called a *coup d'état*, he overthrew the Directory and established a new government called the Consulate. There were still many vigorous defenders of the “republic” of France, but most persons longed for a greater security, although under a military despotism. In this violent move Bonaparte was aided by the army, by numbers of the deputies in the two chambers, by his brother Lucien, who was presiding officer of one of the legislative houses, and even by Siéyès, one of the Directors. The change in government was endorsed by all parties, and French bonds quickly rose in value.

**Overthrow  
of the  
Directory.**

**The Consulate, 1799-1804.**—The constitution of the Consulate was drawn up by Siéyès, who had planned to take the leading part in the new government. It called for three Consuls, two assemblies, and a very limited suffrage. Napoleon proved too strong for the wily ex-Director, and secured the position of First Consul for himself. This officer was the real governor of the country—a monarch with a republican name. He commanded the army; he chose the Senate and had other vast appointive powers; the other Consuls were only advisory to him. The legislative houses could not propose laws or discuss them; neither were the deputies chosen directly by the people. Yet this despotic constitution was ratified by over three million votes, a much more hearty assent than had been given to earlier reform constitutions.

As the successor to the Directory, the First Consul inherited its foreign problems and he gave them his full attention. Russia soon left the great coalition and formed an alliance of the Baltic powers to maintain an armed neutrality. England and Austria rejected the French peace proposals, and the war went on. Holding a French army on the Rhine to keep the Austrians in check, Bonaparte set out to recover Italy. He acted with his customary quickness. With less than forty thousand men, but with excellent lieutenants, he crossed the Alps and broke up a formidable Austrian army at Marengo. This battle restored the French prestige in Italy; a few months later the French army in the North won the victory of Hohenlinden and threatened Vienna. Austria then consented to the treaty of Lunéville in February, 1801. By this agreement, the French territory

**The Second  
Italian  
Campaign.**

<sup>4</sup>Called the 18th Brumaire in the revolutionary calendar.

was to extend to the Rhine, and Austria recognized the reëstablishment of the Swiss, Dutch, and Italian republics under the protection of France. The war with England still continued, for the proud mistress of the sea could not endure French advances in the Mediterranean and in Belgium. The French army in Egypt was forced to surrender, and was taken back to France. Then England signed the piece of Amiens in 1802, agreeing to return the strategic island of Malta to its former owners, the Knights of St. John.<sup>①</sup>

**Bonaparte's  
Peace  
Measures.**

Bonaparte was at last at peace, and he proceeded to make himself secure in France. In the following years, before he once more took the field, he gave striking examples of his constructive statesmanship, not only in organizing the government of the enlarged territories of France, but in creating entirely new institutions. His industry and energy seemed inexhaustible, for he could work from eighteen to twenty hours a day. He not only had a comprehensive grasp of the minute details of his administration, but he had an almost uncanny faculty for comprehending an unforeseen situation, or for mastering an unfamiliar subject in a very short time.

Toward the French people he adopted a policy of conciliation. His plan was to unite all classes in support of the Consulate. The prisons were opened and hundreds of political prisoners were freed; the emigrant nobles were invited back to France, with the result that 40,000 families returned. By the Concordat<sup>②</sup> of 1801 he made peace with the Pope, so that from that year all good Roman Catholics could support the French government. He also took up the plan of the Revolution for a codification of French law. His commissioners worked out such a practical code of laws that it still serves France today and its influence has spread all over the world. Bonaparte recognized the wisdom of popular education and he carried out the Revolutionary plan for a state school system. He also established military and other technical schools. To direct the entire educational system of the State he created the University of Paris. Contrary to the spirit of the Revolution, he established the Legion of Honor, but membership in the order was determined, not by birth, but by service to the State. Although the French felt the iron hand in control, they were content. Bonaparte, therefore, changed<sup>③</sup> his title to that of Consul for Life, in August, 1802. The process by which he made himself supreme in France was a masterpiece of statecraft.

<sup>①</sup>Pitt was then out of office. This son of the great Lord Chatham was more than a mere enemy of Napoleon. For over twenty years he was the strongest man in the English House of Commons, where he maintained his position by his oratory. During this time he brought about the union of Ireland and England and the reorganization of the government of India. He placed the finances of England upon a sounder basis, without using his power to enrich himself. Like his father, he died poor.

<sup>②</sup>The Pope withdrew his protest against the confiscation of church property during the Revolution. He allowed the French government to name the church officers. Bonaparte disregarded the attacks of the radicals upon the Concordat. "Let them call me papist if they will," he said, "I am no such thing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt, and I will be a Catholic here for the good of the people."

<sup>③</sup>There was a form of popular vote, but the government closely controlled the elections. As yet Bonaparte was not unpopular.

The master of France was not to enjoy peace long, and he probably did not desire it. War was his natural element, and if successful, it made his position secure. Furthermore, there could be no lasting peace as long as France threatened the commercial and colonial supremacy of England for the English press kept up a continuous and bitter attack upon Bonaparte, and both nations still remembered the colonial wars of the preceding centuries. Every Frenchman desired to avenge Quebec and Plassey. The duel between England and France was certain to continue whether the French dictator was called Moreau<sup>1</sup> or Bonaparte; it was certain to be fought out to the bitter end as long as William Pitt continued to direct the English government.

Neither England nor France regarded the peace of Amiens as more than a truce. England did not give up Malta and Bonaparte's behavior showed that he was determined to extend French influence in Europe. Therefore, the contest was resumed in the year following the treaty.<sup>2</sup> Little progress was made, however, for it was a struggle between an elephant and a whale—neither opponent could get at the other. When war began again, Bonaparte collected an immense army at Boulogne, and keenly enjoyed the confusion caused in England by the threatened invasion. The resumption of war also enabled him to establish himself firmly in control of the French government. On December 2, 1804, he brought the Pope to Paris to be present at the coronation of Napoleon, Emperor of the French.<sup>3</sup> Soon afterwards he crowned himself king of Italy, thus adding northwestern Italy to France.

**Resumption  
of the  
War with  
England.**

**The Empire, 1804-1815.**—By this time William Pitt was once more in control in England. Napoleon's assumption of imperial power had aroused the other European states; Russia, Austria, and Sweden once more joined England in the war upon France. It took three great campaigns to destroy this coalition, but Napoleon's military genius was superior to the old systems of warfare in Europe, while France and the subject territories furnished him inexhaustible supplies. He first moved against Austria, in 1805. Suddenly breaking camp in Boulogne he was across the Rhine and attacking the Austrian troops before their commanders knew what was happening. He captured one army at Ulm, then occupied Vienna, and on December 2, completely shattered the Austrian and Russian army at Austerlitz. In the meantime, in October, Admiral Nelson had won as sweeping a victory for England on the sea, when he destroyed the entire French fleet at the battle of Trafalgar. Napoleon's victory came later, however, and served to dim the glory of the great sea

**War with  
Austria.**

<sup>1</sup>There was a conspiracy to make General Moreau dictator in place of Bonaparte.

<sup>2</sup>Bonaparte had hoped to build up a French empire in the territory West of the Mississippi, but the English superiority on the sea forced him to dispose of Louisiana. The United States secured the valuable territory on easy terms, because Bonaparte feared its capture by England.

<sup>3</sup>He set up a grand court and established a new nobility; the monarchy was restored, in spite of the liberal principles of 1789.



fight. He forced Austria to sign the treaty of Pressburg, giving Venice to France, and other lands to Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which now became kingdoms and looked to France for leadership. The new kings, with other German princes, formed the Confederation of the Rhine, chose Napoleon Protector, and agreed to furnish troops to support France. At the same time the German Emperor relinquished his title, and the Holy Roman Empire<sup>1</sup> was at an end. This venerable institution had lasted over a thousand years.

This growth of French influence in Germany forced Prussia to act. England and Russia had continued the war after the treaty of Pressburg, but Prussia hesitated. Originally neutral, the unready leaders of Prussian policy had been on the point of joining the allies when they heard the news of Austerlitz. They were forced to make a dizzy change of policy and cultivate courteous words of congratulation for the French conqueror. The creation of the Rhine Confederation was so dangerous to Prussia, however, that that state hesitated no longer, and declared war in August, 1806. Napoleon was ready for such action, while Prussia was not. Full of pride and confidence, the victorious French fighting machine easily defeated the slow-going old-fashioned Prussian army at Jena and surrounding villages, in October, 1806. Napoleon then occupied Berlin, and the chief Prussian fortresses surrendered without a struggle. King Frederick William fled to the heart of his East Prussian territories and left his capital in the hands of the invader. From this place and at this striking moment Napoleon issued his proud Berlin Decree<sup>2</sup> against England.

Both England and Russia continued the war. Napoleon next moved into Poland and occupied Warsaw, while thousands of Poles joined his ranks to fight the destroyer of their national liberties. The Russians were not afraid of the combination even under the leadership of Napoleon, and they took the offensive. The terrible battle of Eylau was fought in the heart of the Russian winter, and was a massacre with no advantage to either side. The next spring Napoleon outmaneuvered the Russian commanders and won the decisive victory of Friedland, which closed the war. There was now no opponent of Napoleon left upon the Continent, and Alexander I of Russia asked to treat for peace. The two Emperors met at Tilsit, on the Russian border, and Frederick William III of Prussia was also present.

By the treaty of Tilsit, signed in June, 1807, Europe was divided into two spheres of influence by the two Emperors. Napoleon agreed to give Alexander a free hand with regard to Sweden and Turkey, and he did not insist upon the restoration of the kingdom of Poland.<sup>3</sup> Alexander recognized the three brothers of Napoleon as kings of

<sup>1</sup>Voltaire had said that it was "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire."

<sup>2</sup>On November 21, 1806. It established what is known as the Continental System. It forbade all commercial intercourse with England, in the hope of crushing that doughty opponent by destroying her trade.

<sup>3</sup>Instead he created the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with the King of Saxony as Grand Duke.

**Prussia  
Crushed.**

**Advance on  
Russia.**

**Treaty of  
Tilsit,  
June, 1807.**



Holland, Westphalia, and Naples, and promised to enforce the Continental System against England. King Frederick William must have felt almost as if he were present at his own funeral, for Prussia was treated without mercy. The Prussian Polish territory was restored to the Poles in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and the new kingdom of Westphalia was largely created out of Prussian territory on the West. The King of Prussia was forced to recognize the brothers of Napoleon as brother sovereigns; he promised to close the ports of Prussia to England until peace was restored between that power and France. Napoleon also laid a heavy indemnity upon Prussia, and he left French troops in their fortresses until the sum was paid. To these severe terms Czar Alexander consented, and Napoleon refused to modify them. The Prussian government even allowed the beautiful and fascinating Queen Louise to abase herself by appearing before the peace conference and begging for mercy for her country. Napoleon treated her courteously, but refused to modify his terms.

The Treaty of Tilsit is said to mark the highest point in the development of Napoleon's power. With Russia as an ally of France, only England and Sweden continued the war. Prussia and Austria were both prostrate, and France was surrounded by a circle of tributary governments furnishing their quotas of troops for Napoleon's armies and rapidly reorganizing their laws and institutions on the French model. Something of the spirit of the Revolution permeated the older state systems of Europe, stirred the people, and created a new and invigorated life. National consciousness was awakened, defeats were looked upon as national disasters, and national movements to resist France were set on foot. After 1807 the contest took on a new character. Napoleon no longer fought against governments, but against aroused peoples, and the ultimate outcome could not be in doubt. These later Wars of Liberation aroused all Europe and finally resulted in Napoleon's overthrow. If he could but have maintained the defensive after 1807, he might have made his rule permanent, but such a step was impossible. The undying hostility of England, his own uncertain position in France, which constantly demanded new victories, and his own vaulting ambition, which called him on to conquer the world, made peace impossible.

**Wars of  
Liberation,  
1808-14.**

The first of the Wars of Liberation came in the least expected quarter, in Spain. Napoleon had occupied Portugal in order to force that country into his Continental System. Then he enticed the incapable king of Spain and the crown prince across the French border to an interview at Bayonne, where he forced them to give up the throne in March, 1808. He made his brother Joseph king of Spain and expected a quiet submission of the country, for the Spaniards sympathized with him in many of his wars with Europe. The Spanish pride was touched by the insulting treatment of the Spanish sovereign, however, and the whole nation joined in opposition to a king imposed by France. The French were driven back, and only the personal attention of Napoleon himself was able to keep Joseph on his shaky throne. As it was, the Spanish long kept up their

**Spain.**

guerrilla warfare and occupied the attention of thousands of French soldiers who were needed elsewhere. It was Lexington and Concord over again, lasting for six years.

While Napoleon was busy in Spain, Austria made one more attempt to break his grip upon Europe. The Austrians formed an army of five hundred thousand men, at the same time that a bitter revolt against Bavaria and France broke out among the Roman Catholic peasants of the Tyrol. Napoleon suddenly left Spain, rushed across the Rhine ahead of his French troops, picked up a small army of German auxiliaries, and with them began to drive the Austrians back, meanwhile rapidly assembling corps from all directions. He captured Vienna within a month from the beginning of the war. The Austrian army was still intact, however, and checked him once in the vicinity of the capital; but he later won the decisive victory of Wagram and forced the Emperor once more to beg for peace. By the treaty of Vienna in October, 1809, there were new cessions of Austrian territory to Napoleon and to the friends of France—Bavaria, Russia, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. The Tyrol refused to accept the peace and fought on single handed against Napoleon. The plucky Tyrolese were crushed by superior numbers and their hero and leader, Andreas Hofer,<sup>①</sup> was shot.

To make his position in France more secure, Napoleon forced another provision into the treaty of Vienna. He had had no children by the Empress Josephine, and the French people were restless because his whole system of government depended upon a single life constantly risked amid the dangers of the battlefield. There were those also who said that if the system must fall at his death, there would be no harm in its destruction before that time. Napoleon naturally wished to see his work made permanent, and he wanted an heir to perpetuate his name. He therefore divorced Josephine on technicalities, although he was still fond of her. He had originally planned a Russian marriage, but these negotiations had not proceeded smoothly. Hence, after Wagram the Emperor of Austria secured easier terms by promising him the Archduchess Maria Louise as the second Empress of the French. After the divorce of Josephine, arrangements were speedily concluded and the marriage took place on March 11, 1810.

During 1810-11 Napoleon had a breathing spell, but his position was less strong than it had been in 1807. The war in the Spanish peninsula smoldered on, fanned by English sympathy and help. The English navy scoured the seas, captured French and Dutch colonies and blockaded France. In Prussia a fierce national regeneration<sup>②</sup>

<sup>①</sup>This inspired inn-keeper, organizing the Tyrolese peasants into a force which defended their country to the last ditch, is typical of the opposition which developed against Napoleon during the Wars of Liberation.

<sup>②</sup>Immediately following Jena, the great Baron von Stein had been called to the Prussian government. He had wrought great reforms in 1807-8. The serfs were freed, the army reorganized, and the government improved. He was driven from Prussia by Napoleon, but his work was carried on by others. Owing to the reforms, the appeals of poets and philosophers, the Prussian people were ready to strike a blow to recover their lost ground.

**Austria.**

**Napoleon's  
Second  
Marriage.**

was under way with the prevailing motive that of revenge upon France. Russia was growing cold toward France. Napoleon had quarreled with the Pope, had annexed the Papal state, and then thrown the Holy Father into prison. This act stirred up opposition even in France, where discontent was still further increased by many despotic acts of the Emperor, and by the effects of the rigid English blockade. The harvests were a failure in France, and the country was yearning for manufactured articles which had been cut off. Nevertheless, with all this uncertainty, Napoleon was forced to plan another campaign—the most colossal of them all. His attack on Russia was the beginning of his downfall.

The Czar Alexander had signed the treaty of Tilsit to gain time. As the months passed, his newly found friendship for Napoleon changed, especially when he found that France would not utterly abandon the Poles and Turkey to Russia. In the Austrian war of 1809 the Czar showed that he was only a lukewarm ally, and the coolness between the two Emperors increased when Napoleon took the Austrian Archduchess Maria Louise as his Empress. There was also a sound economic reason for the separation of Russia from France. The Continental System which the Czar was enforcing against England was proving very disastrous to Russia. The Russian exports of timber and grain were so bulky that they could not be smuggled through as was the case with the products of Western Europe. Colonial wares, such as sugar, coffee, rice, and spices were scarcely to be had at any price. The Russian ruble fell in value 25% during the years 1808-10. Alexander, therefore, refused longer to enforce the Continental System; at the close of 1810 he closed Russia to French goods and opened Russian ports to the neutral powers of the Baltic. From this time both Emperors regarded war as inevitable. Napoleon made gigantic preparations for an invasion of Russia, creating an army of over a million men, including many nationalities, even quotas from conquered Prussia and Austria. He was obliged to leave strong garrisons in Central Europe, but he crossed the Russian border with about 500,000 men in June, 1812. The Russians could not defeat this force and withdrew before it, devastating the country as they went. Napoleon moved on Moscow, which he occupied in September. He had first to fight the bloody battle of Borodino, where the Russians not only seriously injured the French, but retired in good order. Once in possession of the ancient capital, Napoleon expected that peace would follow, but Alexander waited quietly in St. Petersburg and refused to treat for peace, while difficulties multiplied around the French. Moscow was burned to the ground and made useless for winter quarters, the Russian army was still in the field and menacing, while affairs in Western Europe demanded speedy action. To march upon St. Petersburg under such circumstances was impossible and Napoleon decided to retreat.

**The Break  
with Russia.**

**The In-  
vasion of  
Russia.**



To write of the retreat from Moscow is to picture a tragedy. The terrible Russian winter was already setting in and the country to be traversed was desolate. The Russian army hung upon the French flanks and dealt blow after blow, while the Russian peasantry cut off many stragglers. In spite of the extreme devotion of the common soldiers and the most desperate efforts of the French leaders, only a shadow of the great army dragged itself painfully across the Russian border into Prussia. Napoleon had left the army before this time and hastened on to Paris, for a conspiracy had appeared there to overthrow him. As he sped across Europe away from the Russian humiliation, the clouds of revolt grew darker and darker behind him. He easily regained control of Paris, but he knew that the spring would bring another European alliance against him.

The Prussians saw that the time for deliverance had come and they would not be denied. As early as during the retreat from Moscow, the Prussian troops in Napoleon's army had joined the Russians. In the opening weeks of 1813, Frederick William made a treaty of peace with Czar Alexander, and in March he issued his famous appeal "To My People," asking for a general uprising against Napoleon. The response was immediate, and practically the entire male population of Prussia at once organized for the national defense. Napoleon had been equally busy during the winter, and in the spring he appeared in Germany with a new army of 300,000 men. He was still supported by the princes of the Rhine Confederation.

He did not wait to be attacked, but threw himself upon the allies<sup>①</sup> who were drawing together in Saxony. Although his army was made up of boys, old men, and raw recruits he continued to win victories. His losses were heavy, however, and he could not crush the allies. Therefore, when Austria proposed an armistice in June, both Napoleon and the allies consented. Metternich, the Austrian chief minister, spent the time in plotting to join the allies. At the close of the truce he induced the Emperor Francis I to make impossible demands of his son-in-law, as the price of peace. Napoleon refused these terms and Austria then joined the allies, who were supported by English gold. The revolt in Spain still dragged on, aided by English troops under Wellington.<sup>②</sup>

Napoleon was not only outnumbered by the new coalition but many of his troops were German auxiliaries upon whom he could not fully rely. The allied commanders had also learned by experience in the vigorous school of Napoleon, and they knew how to make head against him. They gave battle to his lieutenants but they withdrew before divisions directed personally by him. This careful use of their superior numbers finally brought Napoleon to bay on the splendid battlefield of Leipsic, in October, 1813. This Battle of the Nations lasted three days; it shattered Napoleon's army and

<sup>①</sup>Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, Spain.

<sup>②</sup>At this time England was also at war with the United States concerning the rights of neutral nations. Although isolated from many European problems in modern history, the United States has played an important part in the development of international law.

**National  
Uprising  
in Prussia.**

**The Last  
Coalition.**

**Battle of  
Leipsic,  
October,  
1813.**



forced him back behind the Rhine. The princes of the Rhine Confederation then joined the allies. Holland revolted and drove out the French, while the English and Spanish occupied the greater part of Spain.

The circle of the allies closed in upon France, but even then Napoleon might have kept the Rhine-Alps boundary, for neither Russia nor Austria wished his complete overthrow. Only the revenge impulse of the victorious Prussians called for an invasion of France, and they alone could not have bearded the lion in his den. Napoleon refused the limitation of French influence to the natural boundaries, probably because he feared that it would mean his overthrow in France. The allies therefore crossed the Rhine and moved upon Paris, while Wellington approached from the South. Napoleon's defense of French territory was heroic, and the accomplishments of his troops against great odds seem almost incredible, but he was finally pushed to one side, and the allies occupied Paris in March, 1814. He then gave up his throne<sup>①</sup> and the allied powers granted him the island of Elba, west of Italy in the Mediterranean. In the treaty of Paris the powers granted France liberal terms.<sup>②</sup> England gave back the greater number of the captured French colonies, the French boundaries were made the same as they had been in 1792, and no indemnity was forced from the conquered state. The French were not even forced to give back the works of art which Napoleon had collected from the galleries of Europe. The treaty of Paris restored the old Bourbon dynasty to France and made the Netherlands and Switzerland independent; the Pope soon returned as the ruler of Rome, and the former king of Spain returned to Madrid. The representatives of the Powers then met in the Congress of Vienna to make over the map of Europe.

Treaty  
of Paris.

The Bourbon prince who now took the reestablished French throne was Louis XVIII, brother of the unhappy victim of the guillotine of 1793. He had a chance to give France peace and rest, for there was a profound weariness from Napoleon's great wars. He did give France a constitution, granting many of the principles of the Revolution; but his government rapidly grew reactionary and people feared a return to the Old Regime. Louis replaced the cockade of the Revolution by the white flag of the Bourbons, and called 1814 the nineteenth year of his reign. Emigrant nobles were placed in positions of influence, while Napoleon's officers were reduced to half pay. In four months the Bourbon government had hopelessly discredited itself, and people were dreaming of the "good old days" of Napoleon. Vague rumors began to run about during the winter of 1814 concerning what would happen when the spring violets began to bloom again.

Meanwhile the Congress of Vienna had shown a reactionary spirit, a desire to restore the Europe of 1789. Moreover, on many questions the Powers could not agree and at times seemed in danger of break-

<sup>①</sup>He tried to commit suicide, but the poisonous draught refused to kill him.

<sup>②</sup>Due largely to the skilfully conducted negotiations of Talleyrand, one of the cleverest diplomats of the time.

ing up their concert. Napoleon on his tiny principality of Elba closely watched affairs in Vienna as well as in France, and thought that he saw a chance to reestablish himself. In February, 1815, he left Elba, avoided the English frigates and landed in France. As he made his way toward Paris, the soldiers sent out to arrest him shouted "Vive l'empereur," and fell in behind him. He entered Paris, without opposition, while Louis XVIII and his courtiers made all possible haste toward the Belgian border.

**"The Hundred Days."**

Napoleon announced that he desired peace, and he offered France a liberal government. The Powers refused to treat with him, declared him an outlaw, and once more moved upon France with invincible armies. Napoleon had no choice but to fight, and he attacked the English and Prussians at Waterloo before the other allies could come up. His fiercest attacks could not crush the English under the Duke of Wellington, and a counter attack by the Prussians swept the French from the field. Napoleon was so badly beaten that he fled to Paris and abdicated a second time. His brief rule gave rise to the expression "The Hundred Days."

The allies once more occupied Paris. Napoleon tried to escape to America, but he was captured and sent as an English prisoner to the islet of St. Helena,<sup>①</sup> far out in the Atlantic Ocean west of Africa. The Powers then dictated a second peace of Paris, much more severe than that of the year before. Louis XVIII was restored, and portions of the French frontiers were taken away. France paid a war indemnity, and relinquished many of the art treasures which Napoleon had heaped up in Paris during his campaigns. This treaty proved to be a permanent one and weary France proceeded to establish harmonious relations with the New Regime.

<sup>①</sup>Napoleon died at St. Helena in 1821. In 1840 his ashes were taken back to Paris.

### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                               |                                |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. The American War of 1812.  | 6. Admiral Nelson.             |
| 2. The Purchase of Louisiana. | 7. The Legion of Honor.        |
| 3. Baron von Stein.           | 8. The Code Napoleon.          |
| 4. The Continental System.    | 9. The Influence of Sea Power. |
| 5. Malta.                     |                                |

## CHAPTER XII.

### LIBERALISM AND REACTION, 1815-1848.

Napoleon had been overthrown by the aroused peoples of Europe, who were stirred to action, partly by defeat at the hands of French armies, partly by the liberal principles of the French Revolution. In the years following Napoleon these aroused peoples turned and fought their own ruling classes to secure a share in the governments which they had saved. Two forces, represented by two parties, appeared during this time. Liberalism sought to establish constitutional governments guaranteeing equality of all classes before the law, freedom of speech of the press, and of religion. On the other hand, Reaction tried to restore as far as possible the conditions which had existed before 1789. The reactionaries wished to return to despotic government with special privileges, feudal rights, and class laws.

**Political Forces Following the Overthrow of Napoleon.**

Prince Metternich, chief minister of Austria, was the man most responsible for the strength of Reaction from 1815 to 1848. For ten years after Waterloo he was the strongest force in European affairs; for twenty years he dictated the policies of German states; he was the virtual ruler of Austria for forty years. He was narrow-minded, cynical, of mediocre ability, but very persuasive and a master of intrigue. To him liberty and revolution meant the same thing; therefore, with the extremes of the French Revolution always in mind, he set his face against all reform,<sup>1</sup> against the slightest popular participation in government, and he attacked revolution wherever it appeared. In his leadership of the forces of Reaction against Liberalism he had varying success for many years. Now one, now the other of these two tendencies of government would get the upper hand. We shall examine these successes in alternate order.

**Metternich, the Arch-reactionary.**

The work of the Congress of Vienna was a conservative victory. As far as possible, the governments of the Old Regime were restored. In Spain and Sicily the former, brutal Bourbon despotism<sup>2</sup> returned. France also received the Bourbons back again, although the nation did not want them. Austria took the greater part of Northern Italy, Russia took back Polish territory, and Prussia received half of Saxony, because the Saxon king had remained true to Napoleon. Belgium and Holland were united under the King of Holland. In Germany the decrepit Holy Roman Empire was not restored, neither did the church states and many tiny principalities live again. Napoleon's work of amalgamation was accepted, but conservatism scored a victory in the larger question government for the German states as a whole.

**Congress of Vienna, 1815.**

<sup>1</sup>His advice to his Emperor was: "Govern and change nothing."

<sup>2</sup>The Inquisition was once more set up; monasteries were opened; the clergy were exempted from taxation.

In 1815 there were almost 40 German states, large and small. Since the Holy Roman Empire was dead, the Congress of Vienna must decide what sort of government should be set up over these states. There were two plans, one favored by Prussia, one by Austria. The former called for a close federation of the German states, under a liberal constitution. This meant the leadership of Prussia in Germany and the exclusion of Austria, for many Austrian provinces were not German and could not be included in such a close union. The Austrian plan, put forward by Metternich, favored a loose confederation of practically independent states. This meant that many of these states would follow out their tendency<sup>1</sup> toward reaction; it meant also that Austria would be the leader in Germany, for in such a loose union the Austrian provinces which were not German could be included. The Vienna Congress accepted the Austrian plan and, consequently, the German states set up the German Confederation with a clumsily organized Diet as the government. Prussia thus lost in the first contest between the two great rival German states, because of the jealousy of some of the smaller states, because the liberal party was not yet strong enough in Germany, and because King Frederick William III was not as sure of himself as was the wily Austrian, Metternich.

**The German Confederation.**

**Liberal Constitutions.**

The reactionary victories of the Congress of Vienna were partly offset by the liberal constitutions of the time. Although the Bourbons had been restored in France, the country had received the promise of good government in a liberal constitution. From his place "in the baggage" of the allies when they reached Paris in 1814, Louis XVIII had seen that France did not welcome him. He wished peace above all things, and therefore he tried to win the support of the French people by publishing the Charter of 1814, based upon the English system of government. The King was to be assisted by two legislative houses, while equality before the law, liberty of the press and of worship were guaranteed. Civil and military offices were to be open to all alike. The French people were pleased at the prospect of peace; they accepted the King and his Charter, and set about paying the indemnity which would free<sup>2</sup> France of foreign troops.

In Prussia a great popular uprising had driven out the French and restored the national prestige. In gratitude for this devotion, the King promised his people a liberal constitution. This was in 1815, the same year that the Congress of Vienna threw its influence on the side of Reaction. In June, 1815, the Czar gave Poland a liberal constitution. Other states followed these examples in the years following. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse all had constitutions by 1822. The constitutional movement in Europe both encouraged the liberals and worried Metternich.

<sup>1</sup> Some states went to extremes in restoring the Old Regime. In Hesse even the old-fashioned queues of the soldiers' uniforms were restored. Many valuable French reforms and improvements were rejected simply because they recalled the days of French supremacy.

<sup>2</sup> This took place in 1818, two years before the specified time.



Accordingly, he turned all his energy to check the rising tide of liberalism. He worked to secure a union of the European powers against popular government. To this end he took control of the "Holy Alliance," which had been created for quite a different purpose. In 1815 the pious, visionary Czar Alexander I had proposed a union of the Powers to promote universal brotherhood among men. The King of Prussia joined in the same spirit, Metternich signed the agreement in order to secure the favor of the Czar, while France joined in order to be once more in the European concert after a long ostracism. England refused to sign. The alliance once made, Metternich set out to change its purposes, and he succeeded so well that in the end, the term "holy" was a complete misnomer. Metternich secured control of the alliance and directed its energies to fighting revolutionary movements in Europe. To gain this control it was necessary for him to win over both the Czar and Frederick William of Prussia, for they had both proclaimed liberal principles after the overthrow of Napoleon. He did so by magnifying the importance of every slight disturbance in Europe until the two timid monarchs were convinced that a vast conspiracy existed for the overthrow of established governments. The Czar and the King then gave up their plans for reformed governments and universal brotherhood.

**Metternich's  
League  
Against  
Liberalism.**

The great concert of powers directed by Metternich had definite policies. They adopted Talleyrand's principle of Legitimacy, that the long-established government is the right government, that governments overthrown by revolution should be restored. From this principle it was but a step to the policy of Intervention,<sup>1</sup> that the Powers should intervene in a state where a rebellion was going on. The intervention should, of course, be in favor of the established or "legitimate" government. In the third place, representatives of the governments in the alliance were to meet in congresses from time to time, to determine upon special policies for particular instances.

An opportunity soon arose to test Metternich's alliance. In 1820-1 revolution appeared in Italy. Ferdinand I, the Bourbon king of Naples, had tried to sweep away every vestige of French rule, and reestablish an absolute government.<sup>2</sup> His rule was most brutal, and a successful revolt soon crushed his government. He then became very liberal and granted a constitution. He pledged himself to honor it, adding this terrible oath: "Omnipotent God, who with Thine infinite gaze readeest the soul and the future, if I lie or intend to break the oath, do Thou at this instant hurl on my head the lightning of Thy vengeance." Meantime a congress of the Powers was in session with Metternich at Laibach to consider Italian affairs. They summoned Ferdinand before them, but he left Naples professing loyalty to the new government. He soon returned with 80,000 Austrian troops sent by the congress to restore order in Italy. These troops

**Metternich  
Intervenes  
in Italy.**

<sup>1</sup>England steadfastly declined to recognize the right of outside states to intervene in the interest of governments threatened by revolution.

<sup>2</sup>He even refused to drive through one of the fine new streets which the French had built.

overthrew the revolutionary government and once more set the blood-thirsty king upon his insecure throne. His government then became worse than before, in that to his ordinary brutality was added the desire of revenge upon the rebels. Nevertheless, to Metternich's mind this despotic rule was less dangerous for Europe than a popular government set up by a revolution!<sup>①</sup>

**Liberalism  
Suppressed  
in Spain.**

France now joined the reactionary powers and was soon privileged to give an evidence of faith. In 1822, Spain drove out the despotic, incompetent Bourbon, Ferdinand VII, and set up a constitutional government. Metternich called a congress of the Powers at Verona, where France was commissioned to send the intervening army. The mother of revolutions, in the name of order and security at once sent an army which overturned the liberal Spanish government and freed the captive king. True to his reactionary instinct, Ferdinand waded through blood on his way back to his throne.

From this time the power of Metternich's reactionary league began to fall away. England refused to allow an intervention in Portugal at the same time that Spain was pacified. A little later the United States joined England in opposing intervention in the case of the Spanish colonies of America. Since the time of Napoleon, Spanish America had been in revolt. Hidalgo had aroused Mexico and given his life for freedom, while Iturbide had organized an independent government. Bolivar had freed the states south of Panama. England hastened to recognize these new states, less from a desire to oppose the reactionary league of Europe than from a wish to secure commercial advantages. Whatever the motives, the English action put an obstacle in the way of intervention.

When France restored the Bourbons to Spain in 1823, Metternich and the reactionary powers considered sending troops across the Atlantic to reestablish the Spanish rule in the colonies. Just then President Monroe sent a message to Congress intimating that any attempt on the part of foreign nations to extend their systems of government in the New World would be regarded as an unfriendly act. This famous "Doctrine" placed England and the United States side by side in defending the new republics, and nothing more was heard of intervention in South America. Shortly afterwards France deserted Metternich's league, and soon revolutions took place without intervention even in Europe. In Russia and Austria, however, the same reactionary principles prevailed as late as the middle of the century.<sup>②</sup>

While such an artificial governmental creation as Metternich's alliance was laboring to check the liberal movement, a profound economic and industrial change was working mightily to develop democracy. This was the Industrial Revolution. The democratic forces set free by this great movement made the demand for improved

<sup>①</sup>On the way home the Austrian army also suppressed a revolution in Piedmont.

<sup>②</sup>Russia intervened to subdue the revolt of Hungary in 1849.

**The Monroe  
Doctrine  
Opposes In-  
tervention.**

government irresistible. The industrial changes first took place in England, and there the liberalizing results of the Industrial Revolution first became manifest, but all western Europe soon felt its effects.

Until toward the close of the eighteenth century, manufacturing had been done on a small scale, by hand, at home. Each one of these hand laborers had a few acres of ground, a cow, and a pig; and hence he produced many of the necessities of life for his family. Roads were bad, markets were small, and therefore the hand workman produced only a limited quantity of goods. With the extensive working of iron came the development of machinery, particularly for cloth manufacture. A spinning jenny, then the spinning mule, enabled men to turn many spindles at once, an improvement over the spinning wheel. Then came the power loom, largely increasing the output of cloth; and the cotton gin increasing the supply of cotton and adding cotton goods to the earlier linen and woolen fabrics in the markets. James Watt then perfected the steam engine and with it supplied power for this new machinery. Fulton applied this power to navigation and thus improved communications with distant markets. Stephenson carried on the work by constructing the locomotive and making railroads possible; and still later, Macadam built excellent public highways in all parts of England by using crushed stone.

**The Industrial Revolution.**

The result of these and other engineering triumphs was the creation of the factory system of manufacture. The new machinery was costly and could be bought only by a company. The power supplied by the engine fed by coal could be furnished in any part of the country and to many machines in a small space, and hence factories grew up. These increased the dependence of the laboring people, for the hand laborer was forced out of business, with the result that he gave up his land and moved into the manufacturing city. He no longer had cow or pig, and he became merely a wage earner dependent upon the factory. Crowded together<sup>1</sup> in the cities, the factory people often lived in extreme wretchedness, although the closer contact with each other meant a growth of political intelligence. They saw that the laws which prevented the importation of grain and those which prohibited the organization of the laborers were laws in the interest of the wealthier classes of the country. Furthermore, they saw that they had no means of correcting the evils, for they had no share in the government. From a knowledge of this condition came an overwhelming demand for reform which England could not deny. In 1832 the Parliament passed the great Reform Bill which encouraged liberals over all Europe. By this law a large number of Englishmen were given the ballot, and the seats of Parliament were distributed more nearly in proportion to the population.<sup>2</sup>

**A Strong Influence for Liberalism.**

<sup>1</sup>The English population increased 43% between 1791 and 1821.

<sup>2</sup>Of course this bill did not solve all the problems created by the Industrial Revolution, nor was democratic government established by it in England. In other countries the Industrial Revolution left somewhat different results from those in England. In France, for example, it aided in the development of Socialism; but in all instances, as in England, the Revolution furthered the cause of democracy.



The democratic influence of the Industrial Revolution and of certain liberal constitutions was not strong enough to prevent Metternich's fastening his reactionary policy upon the German Confederation, which had been patched together by the Congress of Vienna with a weak government headed by the clumsy Diet. This Diet, made up of agents of the German states, could never act with promptness, for none of the delegates could vote without instructions from his sovereign, and these were often accidentally or intentionally delayed. The Diet was, therefore, merely an awkward voting machine which registered tardily the votes of the German states. It was a prey to a thousand jealousies, and many opportunities appeared to delay legislation. It soon became the laughing stock of Germany,<sup>1</sup> and later weakly lent itself to Metternich's plan of repression; it listened to his outcry against revolution. It allowed him to interpret the signs of the times and read in them the existence of a vast conspiracy against law and order.

Reaction in  
Germany,  
Due to  
Metternich.

Since the time of Napoleon there had been organizations in Germany for political purposes. The League of Virtue,<sup>2</sup> for example, had stirred up the national spirit against the French during the Wars of Liberation. At the close of the Napoleonic war a strange character, named Jahn, had founded an athletic association in Berlin, and with his followers had often made excursions through the country, with bare necks and long hair. They were very hostile to France and ridiculed everything French which they met. The students in the German universities had also organized societies<sup>3</sup> where they could come together to drink, sing, and discuss religion and politics. These societies were full of liberal sentiment but they were not revolutionary; the most influential one among them was in the University of Jena, in the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar; another was at Giessen, in Hesse-Darmstadt. Harmless as these societies were, Metternich used them and the events of 1817-19 to turn the Diet to reaction.

German  
Societies.

In October, 1817, some professors and students organized a celebration at the Wartburg in Saxe-Weimar, in honor of Luther and of the battle of Leipsic. Permission had been granted by the government and the meeting was public. Speeches were made, songs were sung and, in the evening, the students had a bonfire. Here they burned some military symbols, some French souvenirs, and some objects standing for despotism, such as the Hessian soldiers' queue, which had been restored in 1815. The account of the evening's doings spread all over Germany, and Metternich claimed to see the beginning of a revolution.

Soon another event furnished an additional argument for Metternich. Karl Sand, a half-crazy member of the Jena student society, murdered a Russian agent in Germany, named Kotzebue, who had turned from the liberals to the party of reaction. Shortly afterward,

<sup>1</sup>Report says that the German schoolboys sang, "*Bund, du Hund, bist nicht gesund!*" (Diet, you dog, you're sick!)

<sup>2</sup>*The Tugendbund.*

<sup>3</sup>*Burschenschaften.*



a man connected with the Giessen Burschenschaft tried to kill a German government officer. Metternich immediately set his agents at work, and succeeded in convincing the German princes of the existence of a great revolutionary conspiracy. For once the German states acted promptly. A congress of delegates met at Carlsbad in August, 1819, and adopted the repressive proposals made by Metternich. These stern decrees were then accepted by the Diet.

The Carlsbad Resolutions were directed primarily against the universities and the press. The princes were authorized to abolish the student societies; they were to establish officers in universities to watch both professors and students to see that no revolutionary doctrines were taught; they were to appoint censors to see that nothing noxious issued from the press. A committee was also appointed to hunt for conspiracies in the Confederation. So thoroughly had Metternich terrorized the German princes by the hobgoblin of revolution that they zealously enforced these stern decrees. Prussia was entirely under Austrian influence. Metternich induced King Frederick William to give up his plan to grant a constitution to his people, while the Prussian government degraded or persecuted eminent professors or military leaders who had served the State well, as far back as the time of the struggle with Napoleon. Thus did the fanatical deeds of half-crazy liberals and the reactionary policy of Metternich deal the slowly moving cause of liberalism in Germany a severe blow. Those leaders who hoped for a united Germany, or for popular government in Germany, were to have but few causes<sup>1</sup> of encouragement between this time and the great revolution of 1848.

**The Carlsbad Resolutions, 1819.**

The first years of the contest between Liberalism and Reaction brought no decisive results. The liberals drew up excellent constitutions, and assembled in many conventions, but the reactionaries seemed always to hold their own. The leadership of Metternich, the mutual support of the members of the reactionary alliance, the inertia and jealousies of liberal states blocked reform. Not until force of arms was resorted to did liberalism make real, material gains.

**Successful Revolts Against Reaction.**

The first successful revolution against the system of Metternich was in Greece. The rule of the Turk in Greece, as everywhere else, had been misrule. The Greeks at last awoke to a realization of their honorable descent, and revolted in 1821 under the lead of Ypsilanti. Metternich was inclined to intervene to restore the Turkish rule, but popular opinion in both France and England revolted at the thought of restoring the bloody Mohammedan rule over a Christian country. The popular voice called for intervention in favor of the Greeks, and

**In Greece.**

<sup>1</sup>One hopeful sign was the formation of the *Zollverein*, or Customs Union. As early as 1818 Prussia had begun negotiations for a uniform customs service with neighboring states. Prussian territory lay contiguous to twenty-eight different states, and some sort of concerted action was a necessity to prevent smuggling. Prussia began to make separate treaties with the smaller states, arranging a common system of duties. This proved so advantageous that in 1833 a great customs union was formed including the majority of the German states. This was financially successful, and, while it had slight political importance, it accustomed the smaller German states to Prussian leadership.

both volunteers<sup>①</sup> and money went to their aid, especially from the nations of western Europe. At first neither Metternich nor the governments of western Europe interfered, and the Turks slowly restored their control by slaughtering the population wholesale.<sup>②</sup> Finally, in 1827, England secured a treaty with Russia and France by which these three powers agreed to protect the Greeks. A combined fleet went to Greece and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino in October, 1827. Russia engaged Turkey in war in the East while French soldiers restored order in Greece. The Sultan was compelled to recognize the independence of Greece in 1829.

**In France.**

France furnished the second revolution which went unpunished by Metternich's reactionary alliance. Charles X, who succeeded Louis XVIII in 1824, determined to rule for the reactionaries, and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of 1814. With his party in control of the government he set aside \$200,000,000 to pay the emigrant nobles for their losses during the Revolution. The Roman Catholic church once more became a strong power in the government, the press was muzzled, and the right to vote was limited very closely. The country became alarmed at the direction which events in France had taken; opposition developed in the Chamber of Deputies until the king no longer could find a majority there for his policies. He then foolishly attempted to force upon the country a ministry<sup>③</sup> which was supported by only a minority of the popular house, and he tried to change the constitution by a series of decrees known as the Four Ordinances. By these radical orders, which he published in July, 1830, he dissolved the Chamber of Deputies which had just been elected, abolished the liberty of the press, and changed the election law in order to secure a majority in future chambers. Furthermore, he called to the government a number of notorious reactionaries.

Charles X had completely misunderstood the temper of his people. On the publication of the ordinances, barricades at once arose in the narrow streets of Paris. At first the king hesitated to use force, and later the troops refused to fight the people; finally the government gave Paris up completely to the revolutionists. Charles then abdicated in favor of his grandson, but Paris would have nothing more to do with the Bourbons, and chose as King a member of the related House of Orleans. The new king took the title of Louis Philippe. Thus the Constitution of 1814 was saved, and the principle of parliamentary government was maintained in France.<sup>④</sup> The whole movement took place in Paris, while the country remained quiet and accepted the result with joy. No one raised a hand to support Charles X, who fled to England.

<sup>①</sup>The poet Byron was among these. He gave his life to the Greek cause.

<sup>②</sup>It is said that 20,000 Greeks were killed on the island of Chios alone. The Greeks also waged war barbarously. They had begun the revolt with massacres of Mohammedans.

<sup>③</sup>"I should prefer to saw wood than to be king in the position of the English King," he said.

<sup>④</sup>Louis Philippe became "King by the grace of God" as did the Bourbons, but also "by the good will of the nation."

The third revolt which escaped the control of Metternich was an echo of the French agitation in 1830. It was in Belgium. The Congress of Vienna had unequally yoked together under the House of Orange two peoples unlike in language, blood, religion, and industries. The union had not worked well, particularly because the Belgians believed that the Dutch were simply exploiting their country. The Dutch held many governmental positions in Belgium, Dutch was required of all in the governmental service and the taxes were increased. These unwise measures alienated all classes, and the feeling of distrust and dislike was fanned into acts of violence in Belgium by the news from Paris in July, 1830. Brussels led in the revolt, the provinces followed suit, and quickly drove the Dutch out of nearly every post in the country. The Belgians then set up an independent kingdom. Holland appealed to Prussia for aid, but France declared against intervention by outside powers. The King of Holland then prepared to reconquer Belgium, but a conference of the five great Powers, held at London in 1831, recognized the independence of Belgium and ordered Holland to desist.<sup>①</sup> Such a step was most unwelcome to the reactionary Metternich, who had ordered intervention in Italy and Spain a decade earlier.<sup>②</sup>

In Belgium.

The final and decisive blow to the system of Metternich was dealt by the revolution of 1848. Once again the propelling force came from France. Louis Philippe had been elevated to the throne in 1830 by one class, the *bourgeoisie*, or the well-to-do; his government depended upon this class, favored it, and was forced to fight both the radical liberals on the one hand, and Napoleonists and Bourbons on the other. Many revolts broke out in the years following 1830, but the government vigorously suppressed them all. Louis Philippe claimed to rule by the majority in the House of Deputies and hence his government grew in stability. By 1840 he was firmly fixed in his position with an able minister, Guizot, a man after his own heart.

The Great Revolution of 1848.

Even during these years of careful rule the forces were forming for the overthrow of the Citizen King. The Industrial Revolution began to make its influence felt, more and more men demanded the right to vote and a change to a republican form of government. Socialism lifted its head; these followers of St. Simon demanded a reorganization of society. Furthermore, neither Louis Philippe as a man, nor his government, appealed to the French. Personally upright, a model father, a constitutional king, he was nevertheless too commonplace to command enthusiastic support. He was chiefly interested in securing good incomes and influential marriages for his children, entirely in the spirit of the prosaic class which had made him King. Many Frenchmen looked upon him as they would have regarded a prosperous grocer accidentally become King. Others

In France.

<sup>①</sup>This was Talleyrand's last great diplomatic victory.

<sup>②</sup>The election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency of the United States in 1828 was a triumph for liberalism, although disconnected from the European contest. In the early days of the American republic the government had been controlled by the New England and Virginia aristocracy.



openly laughed at him and his government. Finally, Louis Philippe antagonized France by violating the spirit of parliamentary government. Guizot was in power as minister from 1840 to 1848, and during that time he carried out the King's plan for an increase of the personal authority of the monarch. It is true that Guizot always commanded a majority in the House of Deputies, but that majority was secured by practices now generally condemned. The government bribed deputies by granting them business advantages, or appointments in the civil service. Nearly half the members of the Chamber of Deputies held offices under the government. The right to vote was very limited and was confined to the wealthier classes.

Early in 1848 both republicans and dissatisfied royalists united to stir up opposition to Guizot and drive him out of office. To create sentiment they arranged what were called reform "banquets," where much good wine was consumed and speeches were delivered; but there was no demand for an overthrow of the monarchy. In trying to prevent one of these banquets in February, the government antagonized the republicans of Paris, and the East Side quickly threw up barricades. For some time Louis Philippe's soldiers fought against these obstructions in vain, and then, too late, the King dismissed Guizot, as the cause of the nation's troubles. By this time the spirit of revolt had grown so strong that the radicals of Paris demanded the overthrow of the monarchy. Louis Philippe tamely gave in and followed Charles X to England, the safe haven of political refugees from the Continent.

From the wreck of Louis Philippe's government a temporary government was set up, of which the poet-orator Lamartine was the head. This man tamed the fierce Paris mob by his persuasion and tactfulness, and his government proclaimed a republic in France. Before the republic could be established the Socialists secured control of affairs and tried the scheme of national workshops, guaranteeing work to everybody. In June, finding the rule slipping from them, the Socialists tried to overthrow the government by force. General Cavaignac crushed them in the most terrible street fighting ever seen in Paris. The temporary government then set up a republic based upon universal suffrage. Under this new constitution, the first president was chosen in December, 1848. He was Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte. Thus France once more adopted liberalism in government.

The news of the February revolution in Paris reached the German states early in March. At once similar movements appeared, and the forces of liberalism, suppressed for nearly thirty years, burst forth again. In Prussia Frederick William IV had vigorously opposed the popular demand for a liberal constitution. When Berlin heard of the proclamation of the second French Republic barricades immediately arose in the streets. The Prussian soldiers remained loyal to the government and bloody fighting took place. The king was unnerved by the bloodshed, however, and finally sent the troops

**In Prussia.**



out of the city. He then put on the black, red, and gold colors of the revolutionists, and rode out through the streets of Berlin. He made speeches to the crowds, promising a constitution, a national assembly and universal suffrage. He also promised to direct Prussia to the leadership of Germany.

The time seemed opportune for the realization of that close union of German states for which the liberals had hoped since 1815. Austria was paralyzed by revolt in the capital and in the provinces. To Prussia the opportunity was now open to direct German politics. Frederick William joined the liberals and called a Prussian convention to meet in May to draft a constitution for his kingdom. The action of Prussia so moved the German Diet that it repealed the Carlsbad Decrees and consented to the meeting of a constitutional convention of delegates from all the German states. This convention met in Frankfort on May 18.

The news of the French revolution of 1848 affected the last stronghold of Reaction. Even in Austria, where books<sup>①</sup> and papers had been watched, where all secret societies and the universities had been inspected, where practically no political life had existed, under the very eye of Metternich, disorders appeared.<sup>②</sup> On March 13, 1848, a rather weak combination of students and citizens of Vienna threw up barricades on the French plan, and demanded reform. The government made only a slight resistance and promptly induced Metternich to resign, for the provinces were trembling on the verge of revolt. The revolutionists forced from the Emperor the promise of a constitution, and freedom of the press. The imperial family fled from Vienna, and Metternich left hastily for England. He seemed to be afraid that the consequences of some of his actions of the preceding half century would catch up with him.

The Over-  
throw of  
Metternich.

The embarrassed Austrian government had other problems to face besides the revolt in Vienna. Hungary had always been full of a separatist feeling; under the leadership of Louis Kossuth the Hungarians now demanded a separate constitution. Austria granted it. Then Bohemia revolted and demanded a constitution; Venice and Lombardy revolted to secure complete separation from Austria, while the Austrian influence in the German Confederation shrank to nothing. It seemed that only a slight blow was necessary to break the huge colossus to pieces.

In the opening months of 1848, therefore, the liberal cause seemed to triumph everywhere. France was a republic, Italy seemed on the direct road to union, Bohemia and Hungary had received autonomy, Metternich was in England—his system in ruins. Prussia looked forward to the promised constitution, Germany confidently expected to see at last the long-hoped-for union. Yet the inevitable swing

<sup>①</sup>One ignorant censor confiscated a copy of *De Revolutionibus Orbium Celestium*, by Copernicus.

<sup>②</sup>The great old reactionary was not blind to the course of events. Shortly before this he had written, "The world is very sick—what is clear to me is that things will undergo great changes."

of the pendulum brought reaction, real liberalism was not to triumph in France for many years, while national unity in Germany and Italy delayed its coming until the times of Bismarck and Cavour.

TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |                 |                                |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Lord Byron.  | 6. The Holy Alliance.          |
| 2. Goethe.      | 7. Karl Marx.                  |
| 3. Schiller.    | 8. Carl Schurz.                |
| 4. Talleyrand.  | 9. Democracy and the Frontier. |
| 5. Robert Peel. | 10. The Reform Bill of 1832.   |

## CHAPTER XIII.

### LIBERALISM AND NATIONALISM.

After 1848<sup>1</sup> democratic principles of government continued to make headway, and the events of the last half of the century pointed clearly to their ultimate victory. During this time, also, a powerful force appeared in Nationalism, or the limitation of a government to one people, of the same language, customs, and institutions. The English had first developed a national spirit, due to their insular position. French political control had been forced back within the limits of French nationality by the defeat of Napoleon. The time has now come to consider the triumphant advance of both Liberalism and Nationalism in other European states. We must approach, however, through a preliminary reaction from the great revolution of 1848.

**Reaction from the Revolution of 1848.**—In France a republican government was set up on the ruins of the monarchy. At first the socialists had been in control of the revolution, but the republic as finally established was in the hands of the moderates. Louis Napoleon was chosen president of the new republic, partly because of the magic of the name Napoleon, and partly because he was supported by the monarchists and the Roman Catholics. Once in office, the new president established order and France began to prosper, but the socialist party increased rapidly in numbers, and frightened the French conservatives. Thereupon the Assembly limited the right of suffrage, thus excluding nearly three million voters. Nevertheless, the anxiety continued to increase as the end of the President's administration approached, because the constitution forbade his reelection. At this juncture, Napoleon cultivated favorable public opinion so successfully that over half of the departments asked for an amendment to the constitution, allowing a reelection of the president. The process of amendment of the French constitution was so complicated that a change was practically impossible. An additional obstacle was the opposition of the Assembly to Napoleon's reelection. Taking advantage of the fear of socialism in France, and giving as an excuse the fact that the Assembly had destroyed universal suffrage, Napoleon overthrew the constitution of 1848, and established a government very similar to the Consulate of 1800. He then reestablished universal suffrage and appealed to the country for a ratification of his actions. By an immense majority France accepted the new order of things, although events already clearly indicated a return to the monarchy. Affairs continued in this uncertain state for one year,

In France.

<sup>1</sup>The English phase of this revolution was known as Chartism. Following 1830 there was great agitation in favor of a list of reforms known as the People's Charter. Parliament avoided a revolution by making gradual reforms. Such was Peel's repeal of the Corn Laws which had hindered the importation of grain.

while Napoleon was crushing out sporadic opposition. Finally in December, 1852, the French Senate declared the Empire reestablished and Napoleon took the title of Napoleon III. Absolutism was completely in power; for a decade there was almost no political life in France.

In Austria the problems of government were so difficult that the reformers could do little with them, and reaction set in strongly even in 1848. The city of Prague was first subdued by Windischgrätz, the commander of the Emperor's forces, and this ended the Bohemian revolt. In October, 1848, Windischgrätz took Vienna from the revolutionists. This success was followed by the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand I, who had promised reforms in the first excitement of the revolution. His successor, the young Prince Francis Joseph, regarded himself as not bound by his uncle's promises. With Vienna under control, Francis Joseph turned his attention to the other revolted provinces. Early in 1849 the Italian army was crushed at Novara, and the butcher, Haynau, by his wholesale executions, discouraged future revolutions in Italy. The republics of Rome and Tuscany were overthrown; the kingdom of Naples was reestablished under its despot; and Sardinia was fortunate to escape without loss of territory, for having led the Italian revolt against Austria in 1848. As it was, Charles Albert, the King, was forced to abdicate, but the liberal constitution granted in 1848 was allowed to stand. To the discouraged Italians this was the only result of a national movement which had promised complete independence.

In Austria.

While subduing Italy, the Austrian government had also been busy in Hungary. Francis Joseph had refused to recognize the new constitution, and had called out all available forces to put down the republic which had been proclaimed. The patriotic Magyars, under the leadership of Kossuth, had been able to hold their own against the Austrians and their own revolted Slavs, but Francis Joseph called in the Russians as well. The combined forces destroyed the Hungarian armies and drove Kossuth out of the country in August, 1849. General Haynau then "pacified" Hungary by the same cruel methods which he had used in Italy.

The collapse of the Hungarian republic left Reaction once more supreme in the Austrian empire. At once the government of Francis Joseph took steps to restore Austrian prestige among the German states. A national assembly had met in Frankfort in May, 1848. At that time Austria was weak, and the delegates looked forward to a liberal and unified government for all German lands. Unfortunately, they lost time by useless debates, and their constitution was not ready until March, 1849. By that time, as we have seen, Austria was once more strong enough to oppose a close union of the German states, under the leadership of Prussia. Moreover, Frederick William of Prussia had also lost his enthusiasm for popular revolutions. When, therefore, a committee of the Frankfort convention visited Berlin and offered Frederick William the crown of a united Germany he received them coldly. With one eye on Austria, he stated that he



could not receive a crown from the people; that such a crown was made of sticks and mud. On his part, he called a congress of German princes to consider German union. He stated his willingness to accept sovereignty from such a body. This congress held meetings during 1849 and 1850, without the attendance of Austrian representatives. Meanwhile, Francis Joseph's government had reassumed the leadership in Germany. In the Conference of Olmütz, Austria, by a threat of war, forced Prussia to give up the plans for a close union of Germany, and to cease supporting liberal movements in certain smaller German states. This "Humiliation of Olmütz" was a great blow to Prussian pride, and called for revenge as loudly as did the earlier disgrace of Jena. By the agreement signed at Olmütz, Reaction assumed control in all Germany.

**In the Ger-  
man States.**

**The Union of Italy.**—In Italy the democratic and nationalist forces showed the first signs of recovery from the reaction of 1849-50. There the secret society of the Carbonari (Charcoal Burners) and Mazzini with his vigorous organization, Young Italy, created a strong sentiment against Austrian rule, and in favor of a united Italy.

On the abdication of Charles Albert in 1849, his son Victor Emmanuel II took the throne of Sardinia. While not a great statesman, this prince was devoted to the cause of Italian unity; he recognized the powerlessness of the Italians before the might of Austria, and, most important of all, he was able to call to his aid the best men of Italy. He found the man to unite Italy, in the Piedmontese statesman, Cavour.

Short, fat, nearsighted, and commonplace in appearance, Cavour did not look like a leader, but he was wise in his plans, his perseverance was almost without limit, and he was very adroit in avoiding obstacles. As a young man, he had served in the Sardinian army, then he had traveled in England and France, where he had closely studied democratic institutions. He returned home eager to help make Italy strong and great. For a time he lived on his estate, transforming it into a model by using reformed methods of agriculture. He was finally called into the government. The King learned of his principles, gave him charge of the government, and supported him loyally through all adversities.

**Cavour.**

Cavour believed that Italy could be united only under the leadership of Sardinia. He felt that the Italians must fight Austria to secure that union, and that they could not hope to succeed alone. He therefore determined to secure foreign aid, as well as increase the resources of his own land. He reorganized the army of Sardinia; he developed a system of railroads; he negotiated commercial treaties to benefit the trade of Genoa, the chief port of Sardinia. To break the oppressive power of the Roman Catholic church<sup>1</sup> he suppressed many monasteries, and laid a tax upon church property. The King supported all these measures, even against the opposition of the Roman Catholic party, and contrary to a direct and personal

<sup>1</sup> His ideal was "a free church in a free state."

warning from the Pope. To secure foreign support, Cavour first saw to it that his Sardinian reforms were well advertised in Europe. He then sent Sardinian troops to aid England and France in the Crimean War. This step completely mystified his countrymen, who could not understand what interest Sardinia might have in the Crimea. However, his aim became clear in the Congress of Paris in 1856; as the Sardinian delegate in that body he officially called the attention of Europe to Austrian misrule in Italy.

**Napoleon  
III Won to  
the Support  
of Sardinia.**

The final step in Cavour's preparatory program was completed by his securing Napoleon III as an ally. Napoleon had always been interested in Italy; as a young man he had been a member of the Carbonari. The unification of Italy coincided with his personal theory that governments should coincide with nationalities. As Emperor he had done nothing but sympathize with Italy, but he was finally startled into activity by Orsini's attempt to assassinate him in 1858. The Italian gave as a reason for his act that Napoleon had not kept his promise to help set Italy free. Soon afterward Cavour found Napoleon ready to join an alliance against Austria; but he promised to aid Sardinia only when that power was attacked, and he insisted on Savoy and Nice as his reward.

As soon as this agreement of Plombières was concluded, both Sardinia and France began to prepare for war. Other European nations interfered<sup>1</sup> and would have prevented a conflict, had Austria not foolishly demanded immediate disarmament from Sardinia. Of course this was refused by the delighted Cavour, and the War of 1859 began.

It was of short duration. Both French and Austrian armies were in poor condition, but good fortune gave victory to the allies in the battles of Magenta and Solferino. Napoleon was afraid to risk another battle, afraid also that Prussia would attack his Rhine boundary. Therefore, he gave up his undertaking to free Italy to the Adriatic, and made peace with Austria. Cavour and many Italians were much discouraged at the failure to secure complete Italian unity, but Victor Emmanuel was content to receive Lombardy from Austria, and trust to the future for ultimate success. Later events proved that he was right, that the popular movement toward union was not to be checked. The people of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany in central Italy once more drove out their princelings, and voted in 1860 to join the Kingdom of Sardinia. Then the intrepid patriot, Garibaldi, organized a band of one thousand men in Genoa, slipped past Sardinian officers who had been instructed not to see him, and in a few brief skirmishes completely overturned the despotism in Naples and Sicily. The people there in Southern Italy likewise voted to join with Sardinia. An assembly of delegates from the liberated states met in Turin in February, 1861, and hailed Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, and accepted the Sardinian constitution as the fundamental law of the new kingdom. Only Rome and Venice now

<sup>1</sup> Cavour was in despair; he contemplated suicide.

remained outside of the union,<sup>①</sup> and time alone was necessary to secure them. When Austria was defeated by Prussia and Italy in 1866, one of the conditions of peace was the cession of Venice to Italy. For some years Napoleon protected Rome against the new Italy, in order to win the support of the Roman Catholics in France, but when the French troops were removed during the war with Prussia in 1870, Victor Emmanuel occupied Rome with the consent of the vast majority of its citizens, excepting the Pope.<sup>②</sup>

**The Union of Germany.**—The unification of Italy has a parallel in the unification of Germany. As in Italy, union took place under the leadership of a powerful state, Prussia. In Germany, as in Italy, there was a wise and patient monarch who was willing to subordinate himself often to another's plans. In Germany, as in Italy, these plans were conceived by one powerful, constructive mind, in Bismarck.

Otto von Bismarck was a Junker, or country squire, from East Prussia. He belonged to the aristocracy, to the landed class, to that part of the country where the monarchy was most popular. He was a man of colossal frame, of great energy, or iron will, of much courage. He was devoted to the idea of a united Germany, and thought that the haughty domination of Austria in German affairs should be destroyed. His views were at first too radical to suit Frederick William IV, and he was sent away on diplomatic missions to the German Diet, to St. Petersburg, and to Paris.

**Bismarck.**

In January, 1861, Frederick William was succeeded by his brother William, who, like Bismarck, resented the slights of Austria. This prince had been trained as a soldier, and his interest lay with the army. As King, he found the army not powerful enough to enable Prussia to play the leading part in Germany, consequently, he at once sought to reform it. At this point he met the opposition of the Prussian Assembly, which refused to grant him the necessary funds. King William held the Divine Right theory concerning his crown,<sup>③</sup> and as commander-in-chief of the army he could accept no modification of his orders for reform. The opposition of his legislature was obstinate, and he dissolved the lower house; in answer a larger majority was returned against his plan. He thought first of abdication, then called in Bismarck as his chief minister to carry on the fight for him.

On assuming the leadership in September, 1862, Bismarck had a double task before him. First it was necessary that he establish the King as supreme over the Assembly, by carrying through the army reform. Secondly, this great reform was to furnish the instrument

**Prussian  
Army  
Reform.**

<sup>①</sup>Cavour did not live to see the complete success of his plans. He died in June, 1861.

<sup>②</sup>The Popes have ever since chosen to regard the action as a usurpation. They refuse to accept the fund granted them by the Italian government. They style themselves "prisoners" of the Vatican.

<sup>③</sup>At his coronation he took his crown from the communion table and placed it on his own head, saying, "The crown comes only from God—I have received it from His hands."



for prosecuting foreign wars. These foreign wars were to force the unification of Germany under Prussian leadership. His plan was definite, and he quietly accepted the situation. When a committee of the lower house called upon him, he explained that Prussia would lose no more chances; he said that things were brought to pass in the political world not by votes and speeches, but by "blood and iron." The steady course of Prussian affairs from that day proved that a master pilot was at the wheel.

The Prussian upper house favored the army reform, the lower house was opposed to it. Bismarck and the King therefore reformed the army anyway, claiming that the constitution had not provided for such a deadlock between the two houses. The upper house voted the funds for the reorganization of the army, and the government collected the taxes in spite of popular agitation. For three years the contest continued; during this time the army was completely reorganized, and became the greatest fighting machine in Europe. The first part of Bismarck's plan was thus carried out, but he had not yet taken the nation into his confidence. The development of his foreign policy made his purposes clearer.

Austria had in times past prevented the unification of Germany; therefore, it was necessary to whip Austria into submission to Prussian leadership. The conflict between the rivals seemed inevitable; pretexts were at hand in plenty. Since Bismarck was ready for war, he forced the issue. The disputed question was the disposal of the Danish duchies.

The two small duchies of Schleswig and Holstein lay on the boundary between Germany and Denmark, and their population was divided between the two nationalities. The succession had become disputed, and a decision of the Powers in 1852 had acknowledged the king of Denmark as the lord of the duchies, but they were to be separate from his kingdom. This judgment was not observed by Denmark, and in 1863 the Danes adopted a constitution incorporating Schleswig as a Danish province. This aroused great opposition in Germany, and in 1864 Prussia and Austria occupied the duchies and crushed Denmark in a few weeks.

So far Bismarck had acted in accordance with public opinion in the German states; but he was playing a deeper game. His purpose was to use the occasion to force war upon Austria. Instead of granting independence to the duchies, he proposed their annexation to Prussia. This Austria refused, but consented that the two powers take over the administration of the territory themselves.<sup>1</sup> Prussia took charge of Schleswig, and Austria governed Holstein. As Bismarck wished, trouble appeared from the start. He set out to make Schleswig Prussian territory, while Austria allowed an independence movement to grow in Holstein. This also took on an anti-Prussian tendency, and Bismarck demanded that Austria suppress it. Early in 1866, both nations began to prepare for war; Bismarck secured

<sup>1</sup>By the agreement of Gastein in 1865.

**The Danish  
Duchies.**

**Austria  
Crushed.**



an alliance with Italy, and Austria joined with many of the smaller German states, which immediately began to arm themselves. Bismarck then showed the value of his reorganized army. He ordered these friends of Austria to disarm, and when they refused, he occupied their territories so quickly and in such force that they made almost no defense. Hesse-Cassel, Hanover and Saxony were thus quickly eliminated as opponents. The Prussians then pushed on against the Austrians and completely destroyed their half-assembled army at Sadowa, on July 3. By the close of the month the South German friends of Austria were also subdued, and the war was over. The way to Vienna was open, and Austria was compelled to accept peace on Prussian terms.

The Seven Weeks' War ended Austrian control in Germany, and Francis Joseph consented to the dissolution of the old, loose Confederation. From that time Austrian attention was turned to the Southeast, while Prussia was left to work out the unification of Germany. First, Bismarck annexed<sup>①</sup> the duchies, Hanover, and some smaller territories. Then, in 1867, he formed the North German Confederation, with Prussia at the head. The King of Prussia was the executive of this government with control of foreign affairs, of the army and navy. The various states of the new Confederation sent representatives to an upper house called the *Bundesrath*. The people were represented by a lower house called a *Reichstag*. The King exercised his control through a chief minister who was not dependent upon the majority in the lower house. Although this was not a parliamentary government, in setting it up the Germans had taken a long step toward permanent union. Only the South German states remained out of the Confederation, but they were connected with it by commercial treaties. Bismarck tried to win their friendship by taking only small tracts of territory and small indemnities from them for their share in the war. A large part of Bismarck's great work was now done. The Prussian legislature recognized the value of his labors, and ratified all that had been done in the way of reorganizing the army.

**The North  
German  
Confederation.**

The French had looked upon the rapid rise of Prussia with increasing jealousy. Napoleon had hoped to profit during the war between Austria and Prussia by getting territory for France along the Rhine. Bismarck first outwitted him in the negotiations before the war; the rapid movement of the Prussian armies ended the war before Napoleon could help Austria; after the war was over, Bismarck turned South Germany against France by making public Napoleon's designs concerning the Rhine territories. Jealousy and chagrin created a strong war party in France.

Bismarck realized that a successful war with France would not only remove a rival for supremacy in Europe, but would create such a strong national feeling that the South German states would join the Confederation. He therefore looked forward to such a war, pre-

<sup>1</sup> This was contrary to the wishes of the people of these states. King William said the annexation was based upon the judgment of God and the duty of Prussia.

pared for it, and even sought to bring it about. As early as 1868 General von Moltke inspected the entire French boundary from Belgium to Belfort, and prepared a plan of campaign.

With a strong war sentiment in both France and Germany, excuses for fighting were easy to find. What started the war was the election of a king of Spain. A revolution had left that country without a sovereign and the crown was offered to a Hohenzollern prince, a relative of King William of Prussia. The French became greatly excited at the proposition, for fear that it might reestablish the empire of Charles V. Fortunately, Leopold of Hohenzollern refused the crown, and the danger seemed past. However, Bismarck saw the value to Germany of keeping the question open, and apparently caused Spain to renew the offer of the crown. Four different times the crown was offered to the same prince Leopold. Finally, the French government asked King William to settle the matter by guaranteeing not to allow his relative to accept the throne of Spain at any future time. This the King refused to do, in an interview with the French representative at Ems in July, 1870. Bismarck received a telegraphic account of this interview from King William, and he gave it to the press in a condensed form. As it was published to Europe it seemed to reflect upon the honor of France, and the French government immediately declared war against Prussia.

The war of 1870 did more than break France; it completed German unity. Ten days before the surrender of Paris a notable gathering appeared in the famous Hall of Mirrors in the palace at Versailles. Bismarck was there, and King William, the victorious German generals, and the South German princes. In the name of the German states King Louis of Bavaria hailed King William as the German Emperor. This action was in accordance with German public opinion everywhere, and as soon as the war was over the states of southern Germany joined the Confederation, forming the German Empire. Prussia retained the leadership, and Bismarck became the Chancellor, or chief minister; Bavaria and Wurtemberg were allowed slight concessions in the control of their postal and military systems.

Thus was reached the goal toward which many Germans had been striving since the days of Napoleon. It is true, not all the Germans were included in this Empire, and the new government was not democratic. Nevertheless, Bismarck was content with what had been gained, and did not try to conquer all Europe in imitation of Napoleon. For nearly a score of years after 1870 he and Emperor William I worked cordially together to make Germany strong at home, and one of the great powers abroad. During their rule there was a general European peace. The stormy decade of the sixties was followed by a time of great trade and colonial development.

During these years the government did not grow more liberal. From 1873 to 1880 Bismarck was fighting<sup>①</sup> the Roman Catholic Church, and he joined with the liberal party. The rapid increase

<sup>①</sup> By means of the famous "May laws."

of the socialists frightened him, and he made friends with the Roman Catholics in order to hold his own with the radical popular movement. During his later years he tried to undermine the socialist influence by granting benefits to the laboring classes in the form of state insurance. William I always held fast to his Divine Right ideas of the crown, and those ideas have been fully accepted by the present Emperor, who followed his grandfather to the throne in 1888.<sup>①</sup> William II, a strong personality, has asserted the imperial prerogative on every occasion, while the development of popular government has made almost no progress during his rule. By his creation of a great modern navy, and the strengthening of his army, he has been largely responsible for the blight of militarism upon Europe and the resulting Great War of 1914.

**The Decline of France.**—During the first ten years of the Second Empire France lay under a despotism. Napoleon III looked upon himself as a democrat, and favored progress, but his plan was first to intrench himself in power, and then crown his work with liberty for the nation. His government was outwardly based upon universal suffrage, but he used corruption of every sort to control the elections. France had both a popular assembly and a political press, but both were so closely controlled that they were powerless. Napoleon's spies were everywhere; the theaters and universities were closely watched.<sup>②</sup>

Napoleon sought to make up for the loss of political freedom by fostering the material development of France. The government stimulated the extension of railroads, and the organization of great industrial undertakings. Following the discovery of gold in California, money was plentiful and speculation appeared. Napoleon set up noteworthy public buildings, and founded hospitals and asylums. His great subordinate, Haussmann, made many improvements in Paris, leaving it one of the most imposing cities of Europe. Napoleon also tried to make France play a leading part in European affairs. A world's fair held in Paris in 1855 gave him a chance to display the charms of his beautiful capital. At the Congress of Paris after the Crimean war in 1856, he was host to the representatives of all the great European powers. He had the honor of presiding at this important assembly, which forced Russia to relinquish her claims upon Turkey. This meant a victory for France, and gave Napoleon a leading position in Europe. Finally, in 1859, he interfered in Italian affairs, and by a war with Austria gave great momentum to the movement for the union of the peninsula.

Even in the midst of these successes, signs of weakness became apparent. An opposition party appeared in the Assembly in 1857, and grew stronger each year. The war of 1859 added another element to this opposition, for many monarchists and Roman Catholics were opposed to his supporting revolution against the Pope and the

**Napoleon  
III Attempts  
to Play a  
Leading Role  
in Europe.**

<sup>①</sup> Bismarck resigned his post in 1890.

<sup>②</sup> Some professors in the University of Paris were ordered to shave off their mustaches because such ornaments were said to suggest anarchy.



other Italian rulers. The history of the time from 1860 to 1869 is simply an account of a constantly growing opposition, of a constantly weakening government, forced to grant reforms. Finally, in the summer of 1869, shortly before the outbreak of the great war with Germany, Napoleon established a liberal, parliamentary government.

**Napoleon's  
Failures.**

During this second decade of the Empire, practically everything which Napoleon undertook met with failure. He attempted to establish a French protectorate over Mexico, while the United States could not enforce the Monroe Doctrine because of the Civil War. He did succeed in setting up an "Empire" in that distracted country, and gave the crown to an Austrian prince, Maximilian, the brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph. The United States forced the withdrawal of the French troops in 1867; soon afterward the Mexicans overthrew the Empire, and executed Maximilian. By the failure of this enterprise Napoleon lost heavily in men, money, and in prestige. His prestige also suffered during this decade from his conduct of European affairs. For his interference in Italy he forced from Victor Emmanuel the cession of Savoy and Nice, thus revealing to Europe that he was ambitious to extend French boundaries. During the German war of 1866, and in the following years he continually negotiated with Bismarck in the hope of securing Luxemburg, Belgium, or territories on the Rhine. He was completely outwitted by the great German, and when Bismarck published the correspondence, Napoleon was discredited not only in Europe, but also in France.

Severe as were these failures of foreign policy, the most powerful causes of the overthrow of the Empire were within. French finances had been badly managed, and the government met the deficits by further loans. The Assembly refused to consent to more loans in 1868, thus preventing, at a critical time, a very necessary reorganization of the army. Moreover, a rapidly growing socialistic republican party<sup>o</sup> demanded the overthrow of the Empire. This was the time when France and Germany were at the point of war over the selection of a Hohenzollern prince as King of Spain. Aged, diseased, vacillating, Napoleon<sup>o</sup> was not the man to save his government or carry on a war. Nevertheless, Paris clamored for satisfaction; the Empress and the war party were eager to invade Germany, join the troops of the South German states (which were supposed to be hostile to Prussia) and dictate peace in Berlin. On July 19, 1870, war was declared by France.

**The Catastrophe of  
1870-1.**

The catastrophe was sudden and appalling. The French army was not ready "to the last gaiter button," as one of the marshals had informed the Emperor. The French common soldier lived up to the best French traditions and died bravely in a hopeless cause; but outnumbered and poorly led, the French were everywhere defeated. At Sedan on September 2, 1870, over five hundred guns and 100,000 men were captured by the Germans. Among the prisoners

<sup>1</sup>Aided by the International, a society of workmen founded in London by Karl Marx, in 1864.

<sup>2</sup>He was believed to be dying in August, 1869.



was the Emperor himself. Two months later the capture of Metz not only gave the Germans nearly 200,000 prisoners and over 1000 guns, but it destroyed the last organized army of the French. From that time the defense of France was carried on by hastily recruited volunteer armies, which were quickly scattered or captured wholesale by the splendidly organized Germans.

As soon as the news of Sedan was known, Paris and the greater French cities declared the Empire at an end and proclaimed a republic. The republican members of the Assembly then set up a provisional government to carry on the defense of France. Paris was besieged on September 19th, but the deputy Gambetta escaped to the provinces in a balloon. There he organized armies with great rapidity, but to no purpose; the siege of Paris could not be raised. At the same time Thiers journeyed from one European court to another, begging aid. He could find no ally, and France was obliged to make peace on Bismarck's terms. Thiers carried on the negotiations as the representative of the provisional government, and secured some concessions from the preliminary crushing demands of the conquerors. Nevertheless, the treaty of Frankfort, signed in May, 1871, showed the completeness of the French disaster. France ceded to the new German Empire the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and paid an indemnity equal to one billion dollars.

The sufferings of France were not ended with the German war. The new French government found itself face to face with civil war. As in 1848, the elements which had overthrown the Empire were socialistic and republican. When fighting with the Germans ceased, the radicals secured control of Paris and established a socialistic government called the Commune. This government was opposed by the remainder of France, represented by the National Assembly. The socialists fortified themselves in Paris, and the year 1871 saw a second siege of the city, this time by the troops of the National Assembly. The conflict was merciless; the Communards in their despair burned some of the most famous buildings in Paris. The victorious Assembly meted out a terrible punishment to the rebels; thousands were shot down, while other thousands were banished from the country. The military courts were kept busy for five years grinding out convictions.

**The  
Commune.**

After the stormy time of 1870-1, France passed into quieter waters, in the period of the Third Republic. The Assembly chose Thiers to head the new government, and he succeeded in paying off the enormous indemnity in an incredibly short time. Finally, in 1875, the Assembly adopted a number of fundamental laws which established the Republic with a constitution and a parliamentary government.

Since 1875 the Republic has been growing more stable. Ministries have come and gone in quick succession, it is true, but their very changeableness has been an indication that the French have given up reform by revolution for reform by evolution. The country has prospered and has developed a great colonial empire. France has weathered great crises, such as the Boulanger monarchist conspiracy in

1889, and the Dreyfus affair of later days. The liberal principles of the great Revolution are to a large extent realized. The Great War of 1914 disclosed that France had recovered from many of the weaknesses of the Second Empire.

**The Formation of Austria-Hungary.**—The history of Austria from 1849 to 1860 was one of deficits and absolutism. Francis Joseph sincerely wished to give his people a good government and adopt reforms, but the complexity<sup>1</sup> of his problem foiled him. The disasters of the war of 1859 showed that a thorough reorganization of the government was necessary, and he therefore promulgated a constitution for the whole empire in the next year. This constitution established a federal government in Vienna, with one assembly. This plan was strongly opposed by nationalist Hungary, which wished a separate government. So bitter was the Magyar feeling against Austria that Hungary refused to give any aid in the war against Prussia in 1866. Finally, the Emperor adopted a workable plan by setting up the Dual Monarchy in 1867.

**The Dual Monarchy.**

Under this arrangement both Austria and Hungary had the same sovereign, but there were two capitals with two assemblies. One assembly met in Vienna for the Austrian division of the Empire; the other met in Pesth for the Magyars. A committee, called a Delegation, was appointed from each of the assemblies to consider affairs of common interest to the two states, such as the army, finance, and foreign affairs. The compromise of 1867 was arranged precisely like a treaty between two independent nations. This system has worked well, and the agreement has been renewed more than once. Both Austria and Hungary adopted liberal constitutions in 1867, under which many excellent reforms have been carried through. Austria-Hungary has quietly accepted the decision of the war of 1866 with regard to Prussian leadership in Germany, and has developed important interests in the Balkan peninsula. In 1878 the Congress of Berlin granted Austria-Hungary the administration of the former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This control was changed by Austria into complete sovereignty in 1909. In succeeding years the Austrian government continued to follow a provocative policy in the Balkans and was directly responsible for the outbreak of war in 1914.

**The Awakening of Russia.**—For many years during the contests for popular government in Western Europe the people of Russia lay inarticulate under a despotism. Alexander I, the contemporary of Napoleon, was liberal minded, but Metternich had frightened him away from his pious Holy Alliance into a reactionary league of powers for suppressing popular movements everywhere. Alexander was succeeded in 1825 by Nicholas I, a thorough autocrat. He was not only opposed to all popular voice in the government, but he was anti-European. He wished to shut out European customs, and as

<sup>1</sup>Nationalism in Austria-Hungary meant discord, not union. Germans, Italians, Magyars, Slavs, and Roumanians all recognized the Emperor as sovereign, it is true, but they were jealous of each other.

far as possible to prevent intercourse with other European states. Under such stifling conditions, Russian public life became very corrupt; the bureaucracy of Nicholas was eaten to pieces by fraud and inefficiency. This fact lay fully exposed during the Crimean War by the incapacity of the Russian civil and military systems.

**Benefits  
from  
the Crimean  
War.**

Since the time of Peter the Great, the Russian rulers had looked with growing eagerness upon the territory of the crumbling<sup>1</sup> Turkish Empire. The Czar Nicholas I even made suggestions of partition to the English government, but the English did not wish to see the Russians in control of Constantinople. France was also opposed to a Russian advance into Turkey, for the French had interests in Syria. Austria was opposed to Russia's plan, for Austria bordered upon the Balkan territories of Turkey, and had an equal interest in them with Russia.

The Turkish government was both incapable and corrupt. It weighed heavily upon the non-Moslem population with resulting bloodshed and violence. These conditions stirred up the sympathy of the co-religionists in neighboring lands. Supported by this sympathy, and realizing the political value of such a position, Czar Nicholas in 1854 demanded a protectorate over all the Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. Turkey refused this demand, and Russia began the march on Constantinople.

Napoleon III was eager to do something to give him a standing in Europe, and he formed an alliance with England to resist Russia. The French and English fleets went to Constantinople, and later invested Sebastopol, a strong fortress in the Crimea. After desperate encounters the French and English, aided by Turks and Sardinians, finally captured the fortress in 1855. Russia then made peace, for Austria was planning to join the allies, and that would have meant an invasion of Russia. Moreover, Czar Nicholas had died during the siege of Sebastopol, thus removing the strongest advocate of the war. In the Congress of Paris<sup>2</sup> in 1856, Russia gave up all claims on Turkey, and the conditions before the war were reestablished. The great sacrifice of men and money had demonstrated the incapacity of the Russian government, but it left Turkey as an incubus for future generations.

Alexander II was shocked by the revelations of Russian weakness made by the Crimean war and he determined upon reforms. He was unwilling to grant a constitution, but he lessened the censorship; he allowed Russians to travel abroad; he lightened the restrictions upon the universities. These good steps taken, on February 19, 1861, he freed the serfs. There were over 50,000,000 of these wretched people; Alexander freed them from the soil and gave them permission to buy the lands which they had previously only tilled for the lords and the Czar. To aid them in this purchase, the government lent them funds at an easy rate of interest. This reform established

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas I called Turkey the "Sick Man of Europe."

<sup>2</sup> The Congress also agreed upon some very important principles of international law.



the Commune or *Mir* in Russia, for the freed serfs were to hold the land, not individually, but in common. This *Mir* also received important powers of self-government. Above the *Mir* Alexander established a provincial assembly, the *Zemstvo*, which cared for the local affairs of the province. Alexander's liberal reforms looked well upon paper, but they met great opposition from the nobles. The committees which he appointed to carry them out were hesitating or indifferent. At last the Polish rebellion of 1863 frightened the Czar away from his program of reform into the party of reaction. The peasants did not lose their freedom, but his other measures were generally disregarded.

The reform party kept up its agitation; in 1878 appeared a small radical group, called Nihilists, who tried to frighten the government into reforms by a campaign of assassination. Numerous government officers were "executed" by this body, and finally in 1881 the Czar himself was destroyed by one of their bombs.

This assassination was a great misfortune for Russia. At that very time Alexander was preparing to establish a representative government. His son, Alexander III, decided to maintain absolutism; he lived surrounded by guards; by vigorous measures he broke up the band of terrorists. Nicholas II, the present Czar, took the government in 1894. He maintained the autocracy until the Japanese war of 1904-5 so clearly showed the rottenness of the Russian system that he was forced to establish a Duma, or representative assembly. After the war the government returned to a policy of repression, but not all the gains of 1905 were lost. At the outbreak of the Great War of 1914 the Czar made further concessions.<sup>①</sup>

The Great Rebellion in the United States of America from 1861-5 was contemporaneous with many of the events described in this chapter, and illustrated a strong spirit of nationalism which prevented secession, while the same spirit in Europe was constructing new states.

<sup>1</sup>The movement toward liberalism and nationalism is not confined to the states considered in these pages. It is, of course, world-wide and continuous. It is evident today, not only in Europe, but in many other countries where European influence has gone. The agitation for equal suffrage qualifications for men and women is simply a phase of democracy.

### TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. William E. Gladstone.                | 6. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. |
| 2. The Emancipation of American Slaves. | 7. The Right of Secession.       |
| 3. Thiers.                              | 8. Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield.  |
| 4. Florence Nightingale.                | 9. Ferdinand De Lesseps.         |
| 5. The Dred Scott Decision.             | 10. David Livingstone.           |



## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE WORLD TODAY.

#### THE PEACE OF EUROPE.

The spread of democracy and liberalism in the nineteenth century did not make international peace any more stable than had the despotism of the earlier governments. Indeed, the growing spirit of nationalism caused the great European states to regard each other more nervously, because of their dense population, their rivalry in trade, and a common heritage of unsettled historical questions. For forty years after the final unification of Italy and Germany Bismarck's shadow rested darkly upon Europe, and the possibility of a reappearance of his Force Policy was not forgotten. There was peace during this time, but it was an unstable peace, an armed peace, a peace with constant preparation for war.

The delicate balance of power established by this Armed Peace, the tremendous costliness of the system are scarcely appreciated out of Europe. Bismarck knew that the French would wish to regain the prestige lost in 1870, and so he prepared for trouble. He kept up a strong army in Germany; he formed the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy in 1882. Under these conditions he was dictator of Europe, and France was isolated. The Republic remedied this situation in 1895 by securing the Dual Alliance with Russia in return for heavy loans of French gold. This isolated England, with the result that Russia encroached upon China and Central Asia. England restored the balance by an alliance with Japan in 1902, and shortly afterward secured a commanding position in European affairs by negotiating the Triple Entente with France and Russia. To retain the control of the sea England created an enormous fleet, but Germany retaliated by similar additions to the navy. The leading continental powers levied great armies whose maintenance cost annually nearly a billion dollars. Twenty million men were ready to rush into the ranks in case of a war; two million of these were always idle in barracks, or busy with unproductive tasks, while eight million other men labored at home to pay the costs of the great military establishments. Such a peace, secured by a general preparedness for war, was ruinously expensive, and could not be permanent.

**The Armed  
Peace.**

One of the questions which constantly threatened to break the peace of Europe during these years was connected with Alsace-Lorraine, the territory ceded by France to Germany in 1871. The Alsace-

Alsace-  
Lorraine.

Lorraine problem was hoary with age. When the grandsons of Charlemagne divided his territories in 843 at Verdun, Charles and Louis took the lands which later became France and Germany, and left only a long, narrow intermediate territory to their older brother Lothaire. This kingdom included the land known later as Alsace-Lorraine.<sup>1</sup> These two districts had a more or less independent existence during the Middle Ages, but both French and German princes fought for their possession, and constantly overran them. Finally, they came under the nominal control, at least, of the Emperor of Germany. With the chief city, Strasburg, Louis XIV then appropriated them from the weakening German Empire, at the close of the seventeenth century. Alsace-Lorraine was at the heart of Napoleon's great Empire, and became a thoroughly French province, although many of the people were of German descent. Later, when Bismarck had France at his mercy in 1871, he insisted upon the cession to Germany of Alsace-Lorraine, for Strasburg commanded the Rhine, and the hills of the border province contained many of the passes from France into Germany.

Bismarck then organized the conquered territory as the property of the German nation. At first he set up a severe government which drove many of the people over into France. Later the German government tried moderation, and Emperor William restored one of the old Alsatian castles<sup>2</sup> to be used as a provincial residence. Both severity and concession failed to make the captured territory German. The delegates from Alsace-Lorraine formed a group in the Reichstag which opposed the government in every possible way, and many of the people of Alsace-Lorraine remained strongly anti-German. Neither did France become reconciled to the loss of the powerful northeast boundary and one of the greatest fortresses.<sup>3</sup> The hostility toward Germany remained fervent and deep seated; any reconciliation between the two nations was almost out of the question.

Poland.

The Polish situation has long threatened the peace of Europe. Here was a great nation, with a history going back to a period before the time when William of Normandy went into England. The Poles had a powerful kingdom long before Peter the Great started Russia on the road to power. In Central Europe they controlled a territory larger than the present German Empire. In 1683, it was John Sobieski, King of Poland, who drove the invading Turks back from Vienna and set a limit to Mohammedan conquests. The Poles had a distinct language and literature, and they were proud of their national past. Intensely patriotic, they nevertheless fought among themselves, and failed to establish a strong government. Hence, as neighboring nations grew powerful, the great unprotected plains of Poland were in danger. A century after the rescue of Vienna, Sobieski's country was barbarously partitioned among the nations which he had saved.

<sup>1</sup> Lorraine was named after Lothaire.

<sup>2</sup> Hohkönigsburg.

<sup>3</sup> Metz.

The extinction of the kingdom of Poland did not destroy the Poles as a people. Instead, a fervent spirit of devotion to the past kept alive both language and national traditions. The most enthusiastic Poles were either banished or fled before the persecution of the three governments which had taken the Polish territory. Since the French sympathized with their cause, a large colony of them settled in Paris. When Napoleon began to smite the old governments of Europe, the Poles joined his armies by the thousand in the hope that he would reestablish the Polish kingdom. He did nothing but set up the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a mere shadow of their former greatness. With the overthrow of Napoleon, the Polish territory was once more divided among Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

These powers have never been able to crush out the Polish nationality. By forcing many of the Poles to sell their property to Germans, by compelling the use of German in the schools and in public documents, Prussia has made some progress in spreading German influence throughout Posen, the chief Polish province of Prussia. In Russian Poland there have been repeated revolts, but neither bloody suppression, nor rigid repression afterwards has succeeded in making loyal Russians out of the Poles. It has been useless to forbid Polish speech in the schools, to muzzle the press, to persecute the Roman Catholic Poles. Persecution merely increases their fervor. They still read, speak, and write their language, and they dream of a reunion of their people. Any European peace is uncertain which ignores the disunion of the Poles.

A third cause of uncertainty in European politics has been the condition of southeastern Europe, in the Balkan region. When the Turks first broke into Europe in the fourteenth century, they rapidly overran the country as far as Hungary. When the fall of Constantinople made them masters of the Hellespont in 1453, they threw their whole strength into a career of conquest which took them into the heart of Europe. After their repulse by Sobieski under the walls of Vienna in 1683, they began to give way. From that time they have been steadily pushed back, until today their only European territory consists of a small district in the vicinity of Constantinople. Russia has taken the Turkish territory north of the Black Sea, while Austria has united with Hungary and neighboring districts. Independent states have taken form from other territories forced from the unwilling Sultans. Serbia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Greece have come into being, and their peoples enjoy good government.

Although these states have rival interests in the Balkans, all but Roumania formed a league in 1912, attacked the Turks and drove them back to the outskirts of Constantinople. The war was regrettable in that it was unprovoked by the Turks,<sup>1</sup> but there was en-

**The Balkan  
War of 1912.**

<sup>1</sup>On the contrary, Turkey was at that time in the hands of a reform government. In 1908 the Young Turks had forced the establishment of a national parliament. They then dethroned the untrustworthy old Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and put his brother on the throne. Embarrassed by complex racial and economic problems, the new government could offer only a feeble resistance to the Italian attack on Tripoli in 1911, and to the war of the Balkan states mentioned above.



couragement in the fact that the Balkan states could so far forget their differences as to act in concert on any question. Peace advocates found especial cause for encouragement in the moderation and good sense which the greater European government showed in refusing to be drawn into the struggle. Such causes for congratulation soon disappeared, for the Balkan victors at once began to fight over the spoils—Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria. In the midst of this second war Roumania intervened to seize a portion of Bulgarian lands, and the Turks reoccupied the territory as far as Adrianople. When peace finally came to the Balkans it found the district torn by the bitterest animosities, a splendid field for intrigues of the other European powers. This temptation was too strong to be resisted, and the brutal interference of Austria-Hungary put an end to the uncertain peace which Europe had enjoyed for a generation, and brought about the Great War of 1914.

The little state of Serbia blocked the advance of Austria toward the Aegean sea. Serbia had acquired new territories in the recent Balkan wars and cherished the plan to create a Greater Serbia including other territories, some of which were ruled by Austria-Hungary. The latter power was not blind to the menace on the southern boundary and was with difficulty kept out of the earlier Balkan conflict by the other European powers. In July, 1914, after the Balkan powers had fought themselves out and the storm seemed over, the Austrian government suddenly precipitated a great European crisis by sending to Serbia an ultimatum which threatened that country's very existence.

Russia prepared at once to defend Serbia, while Germany demanded that the matter be left to Serbia and Austria. France was bound by the Dual Alliance to support Russia if attacked. England was friendly to both powers, because of the Triple Entente and because of the fear of German naval and commercial competition, but England sought to have the troubles straightened out by a congress of all the powers concerned. This Germany refused to consider.

The war began by an Austrian attack upon Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. Russia then began to move troops toward the Austrian boundaries. Germany then declared war on Russia and attacked France through Belgium. The Belgians hotly resisted the invasion of their territory, while the violation of their neutrality gave England sufficient pretext to enter actively into the contest. Thus jealous of each other's ambitions, fearful of each other's vast military power, and absolutely certain of the justice of their cause, the nations of Europe entered upon the most suicidal strife in history.

In a more local sense than that of international war, the peace of Europe is likewise threatened by social and political unrest. The French Revolution was democratic in tendency and its influence, acting and reacting throughout Europe, shattered the ancient system of government by privileged classes. When Napoleon seized arbitrary control, first in France and later in Europe, it was the same popular upheaval which overthrew him. With Napoleon out of the

**The Beginning of the Great War of 1914.**

**Contemporary Democracy.**



way, the spirit of democracy, or that of popular control of political institutions, fought aristocratic government throughout the entire nineteenth century, until today in England, France, and to a lesser degree in Germany, the people do rule. Moreover, democracy has not limited its efforts to these countries, but in Spain, Portugal, Russia and Turkey, China and Persia<sup>①</sup> it is even now fighting to gain control.

In Spain the monarch controls the government, which is both corrupt and overloaded with office holders. Although personally popular, Alfonso XIII is in constant danger of a revolution. The growing and discontented class of factory laborers are violently hostile to their employers, and to the established Roman Catholic church. The central government being friendly toward both these forces does not command public confidence. In Portugal the government was until yesterday in the grasp of political adventurers whose corrupt measures sucked the country dry. The royal family was extravagant, and settled its enormous debts by direct drafts upon the national treasury. The people were taxed to death, and yet the country was on the verge of bankruptcy. Finally, a popular and almost bloodless uprising drove out the good-for-nothing young Manuel II in 1910, and a republic was established.

**In Spain  
and  
Portugal.**

It was the war with Japan which gave democracy a chance in Russia. Previous to this time despotism had been firmly intrenched there because the nobles profited by the system, not only by direct corruption, but by keeping the people under foot; the Czar could not make reforms, even when he wished to do so. When the Japanese had defeated the forces of this old-fashioned government, autocracy lost countenance at home, and disorders multiplied everywhere within the vast body of the Russian empire. Strikes, assassinations, Jewish massacres, mutinies, wholesale destruction of property and feverish agitation were every-day occurrences. Czar Nicholas II is an unready man and he did not know what to do in this crisis. One day he would timorously start some reform, and the next he would relapse into the old habit of despotic rule. At last, early in 1905, his life was threatened and in February the Grand Duke Sergius was killed in Moscow by a revolutionist's bomb. These events helped Nicholas II to make up his mind, and he declared his intention to call to his aid a national assembly, or Duma. In the following months he granted real liberty to the press, to the universities, and in religious matters; he also showed some consideration for the Poles and the Jews.

**In Russia.**

The first Duma met in May, 1906. It was strongly democratic, while the ministry which the Czar appointed represented the bureaucracy, or the old system of government. When the Duma refused to support this ministry, Nicholas did not dismiss his ministers in the manner of parliamentary rulers; instead he dissolved the Duma and filled St. Petersburg with soldiers. Then, through a new minister, he called for a second Duma. This body was also strongly

<sup>1</sup>The Irish home rule movement is another phase of the same struggle; the Irish have recently been mollified by many concessions from the English Parliament.

democratic and demanded control of legislation, while Stolypin, the prime minister, although conciliatory, refused to be responsible to it. Hence another deadlock brought another dissolution and widespread disorders, although Stolypin still held office.

The third Duma was chosen under a new election law, in October, 1907. This body was less radical than its predecessors and placed a working majority behind Stolypin. He believed in strong handed<sup>①</sup> reform at the will of the Czar, and vigorously repressed the extremists of all parties. In spite of many intrigues he kept the confidence of the Czar; in spite of a constant danger of assassination he kept grimly at his task; he was slowly bringing order out of chaos when he was murdered in September, 1911. After his death the Czar's government grew more despotic, but the great European war of 1914 united the nation and prevented further revolution. Russian reform is not yet complete; democracy has neither won nor lost in Russia. As long as the question is unsettled, however, the peace of Europe is not assured.

#### Socialism.

The democratic movement which so powerfully affected Europe in the nineteenth century has had other phases than the political. In Germany and France it has become economic; people are now clamoring for the popularization of wealth, and particularly of the means of production. Many men think that the fruits of society's labor are unfairly divided among its members. They therefore demand state control of communications, factories, and land, in the hope that such administration will divide wealth with greater justice. This doctrine is called Socialism;<sup>②</sup> its adherents have formed powerful political parties in France and Germany and have markedly affected legislation. France has had a socialist prime minister, and the German Social Democratic party has become so strong as to worry both the Emperor and the Roman Catholics,<sup>③</sup> and cause a union between them. What is true of Socialism in Germany and in France is also true throughout Europe in a smaller way. The doctrines of Marx have gained such headway that to vast masses of workmen war among nations has become unpopular. Under ordinary circumstances the only war popular with them would be a civil war, fought for economic rights.

#### THE PARTITION OF AFRICA.

Africa remained the Dark Continent until a very few years ago. As soon as men saw that it was economically important, the nations engaged in an undignified scramble for slices of African territory. The advantage has remained with England and France, both as to districts explored, and territories actually annexed.

<sup>①</sup>He executed so many persons that the halter was called "Stolypin's necktie."

<sup>②</sup>Socialism has wider meanings than the above. It might even be called state culture of the individual. It is behind factory acts and laws for the protection and education of children. Even in a country as individualistic as the United States the government inclines more and more to a close regulation of the great corporations.

<sup>③</sup>The German socialist vote increased from 124,000 in 1871 to over three million in 1907. In this year they elected nearly one-third of the members of the Reichstag.

Since 1870, France has carefully developed a colonial empire; some of the most important territorial additions of this period have been made in Northwest Africa. The French had posts on the west coast of Africa at the close of Napoleon's wars, and in 1830 they entered Algeria. Under the Third Republic much of the great intermediate district has been explored and occupied, until France now governs an area in Africa as large as the United States, including Alaska.<sup>①</sup> In 1881 the French established a protectorate over Tunis, the seat of ancient Carthage, and thus offended the Italians,<sup>②</sup> who were planning to do the same thing themselves. This left but two Mohammedan states in North Africa, Morocco and Tripoli. A civil war broke out in Morocco in 1903, and French leaders at once secured an understanding with the British government by which France ratified the English occupation of Egypt, and received a free hand in Morocco. The French rapidly developed what they called a policy of "peaceful penetration" of Morocco, and laid a plan of reform before its "Emperor."

**French  
Northwest  
Africa.**

The Emperor of Germany then unexpectedly announced that no settlement of the Morocco question would be final, which left Germany out of consideration. This declaration caused the Congress of Algeiras, in Spain, in 1906. At this conference representatives of all the leading nations recognized the special interests of France in Morocco, entrusted to France and Spain the maintenance of order in the ports, and received from France the promise to respect the integrity of Morocco and the trade of other nations there. This arrangement of Algeiras was not satisfactory, for the French continued to extend their influence in Morocco on one excuse after another. In July, 1911, Emperor William created a critical situation by sending a war vessel to a port in West Morocco. The French government firmly opposed any German interference, and Germany was obliged to be content with a guarantee of equal trade privileges, and the cession of some unimportant lands in equatorial West Africa.

The earliest European settlers in South Africa were the Dutch. They established a post at Cape Town in the middle of the seventeenth century, in order to protect their trade with the Indies. Here they were soon joined by Huguenots forced out of France by the persecution of Louis XIV. The slowly growing colony was appropriated by England during the Napoleonic wars. Many of the Dutch farmers did not like the English rule, and, accordingly, in 1837 they emigrated north with their families to the vicinity of the Vaal river. There in a dry country, fitted only for sheep raising and scanty farming, they set up two independent republics called the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State. In time, the English continued northward, especially after the discovery of diamonds at Kimberly in 1867.

**South  
Africa.**

**The Dutch  
Republics.**

<sup>①</sup>Of this total, 200,000 sq. mi. must be credited to Madagascar. French Northwest Africa includes much of the Sahara desert, but it is not all waste land. The coast can be irrigated, and the French Sudan needs only time and peace for its development.

<sup>②</sup>The acquisition of Tunis by France caused Italy to enter the Triple Alliance with Austria and Germany.



They came into conflict with the Boers of the Transvaal and were bested at Majuba Hill in 1881. Gladstone then recognized the virtual independence of the little state.

In the following years the march of empire took the British far northward under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes. The two Dutch republics thus became surrounded by English possessions. Meanwhile, rich gold deposits were discovered in the arid Transvaal, and foreigners appeared from all directions. These "Outlanders" were soon more numerous than the Boers, who denied them a share in the government of the Dutch state. England pressed the Dutch to grant reforms, but the Boers feared the complete loss of their power if they granted political rights to foreigners. Under the leadership of their president, Paul Kruger, they prepared to resist. They were joined by the Free State and attacked the English in 1899. They had some success at first, but after three years of splendid defense they were crushed by the greater resources of the British empire. The English then annexed the Dutch territories, but showed conciliation in every way. They liberally aided the Boers in restocking their farms, and gave the conquered states a large degree of self-government. The Dutch responded to this wise policy and consented to a federation of South Africa. In 1909 the English Parliament passed a bill uniting Cape Colony, Natal, the Free State, and the Transvaal under one constitution. This gave the Dutch and the English equal privileges under a liberal government. Great Britain is represented by a Governor General and a Council; the South Africans elect a lower house which chooses a Prime Minister, as does the House of Commons in England. The English moderate policy toward South Africa was a decided success, for during the Great War of 1914 a revolt in favor of Germany was easily put down by the South African Prime Minister, General Botha, a former Boer leader.

The  
Boer War.

Egypt and  
the Sudan.

The  
Suez Canal.

The second important English division of Africa is Egypt and the Sudan. In 1831 Mehemet Ali, the Turkish governor of Egypt, revolted against the Sultan. He was so successful that he even carried the war into Syria. The Powers would not let him proceed to Constantinople, but he realized his chief ambition in 1841 when he became an almost independent sovereign in Egypt. His family continued in control after his death, and Said<sup>1</sup> Pasha was ruling Egypt when the French engineer De Lesseps began to dig the Suez Canal in 1859. Said applied Egyptian funds to the construction of the canal, and received a large block of shares in the undertaking. His successor, Ismail, secured the title of Khedive (Lord) from the Sultan; he also borrowed large sums on Egyptian credit and squandered them scandalously. To secure other funds he sold the Egyptian shares in the Suez Canal Company, and the buyer later proved to be the English government. Ismail's finances soon reached such a desperate state that England and France forced upon him the Dual Control of his treasury. By this arrangement resident representatives of these powers took control of Egyptian finances to protect foreign creditors. In 1879 Ismail was deposed by the Sultan of Turkey.

<sup>1</sup>Port Said was named for him.



A revolt in the army gave the new Khedive a pretext to overthrow the Dual Control in 1882. Since the revolt jeopardized the lives and property of Europeans, the English bombarded Alexandria and occupied Cairo. The French refused to join in this pacification of Egypt, and Gladstone did not expect the English forces to remain there after order was restored. In order to avoid entanglement with Egyptian affairs, he refused to establish a protectorate; he simply made the English Consul-General a British "agent" at the Khedive's capital. This Agent was temporarily to advise the Egyptian ruler.

**The English Occupation of Egypt.**

The Sudan in the meantime was seeing stirring events. This great territory—the southern continuation of Egypt almost as far as the equator—was under the nominal control of Egypt, although occupied by fierce, wild tribes. In 1877 the Khedive had appointed General Charles Gordon, an Englishman, as Governor-General of this district. Gordon had retired when the Egyptian government broke down in 1882, and a religious fanatic, called the *Mahdi*, conquered and devastated the Sudan. Gordon was then sent out by the English government in 1884 to restore order. He was not promptly supported by Great Britain, however, and was massacred with a handful of followers by the wild Sudanese dervishes. Both England and Egypt then abandoned the upper Nile for more than a decade.

**The Murder of General Gordon.**

There was good reason for this, because there was much to be done on the lower Nile in Egypt. There was an annual deficit, the government was inefficient, and the people were too poor to pay for reform. Gladstone would willingly have withdrawn from the supervision of Egyptian affairs if he had not foreseen a return to chaos under Egyptian rule. The British Agent stayed on, therefore, from year to year, and "advised" the Khedive. It was the first British agent, Baring,<sup>1</sup> who solved the Egyptian problem. His financial policy made away with the annual deficit, the public irrigation works<sup>2</sup> of his engineers trebled the sugar and cotton crops in ten years, and lessened the danger of famine in years when the Nile was low. He caused the reorganization of the army, and secured a protecting force for Egypt which would fight as well as wear uniforms and march. He met all the obligations incurred by the wicked extravagance of Ismail, and raised Egyptian credit to that of leading European nations.

**The Work of Lord Cromer.**

Lord Cromer's great work likewise reacted upon the Sudan. It was evident that Egypt was not safe with the Sudan in disorder. In 1898 the time had come to avenge Gordon's death, for there was money in the Egyptian treasury and the army was efficient. Kitchener, the English head of the Egyptian army, took an Anglo-Egyptian force into the South and captured Khartum. The fall of the capital once more put Egypt in control of the Sudan, but, none too soon, for Kitchener found a French expedition encamped at Fashoda, on the Upper Nile. This expedition had made its way from the French Sudan in the West, and the leader, Major Marchand, claimed the

**Acquisition of the Sudan.**

<sup>1</sup> Later made Lord Cromer.

<sup>2</sup> The giant dam at Assuan is a mile and a quarter long. With auxiliary irrigation works it stores water for nearly a billion acres of land in Upper Egypt.

Upper Nile for France. This demand created a delicate situation between England and France, but the French later withdrew their demands. In 1899 England and Egypt agreed to rule the Sudan jointly; in 1914, as a consequence of the Great War, the English established a protectorate over Egypt, and strengthened their hold upon the Suez Canal. Thus the route to India is kept open.<sup>①</sup>

#### ENGLAND AND CENTRAL ASIA.

England carefully guards the communications with India. Gibraltar protects the western entrance to the Mediterranean, Malta is a central base in the same sea, and Cyprus shuts off an approach of Russia from Constantinople. Beyond the Suez Canal the English command the entrance to the Red Sea by the port of Aden; in 1903 the English government proclaimed a sort of Monroe Doctrine covering the entire Persian Gulf.

India.

The Indian prize is well worth protection. Since the expulsion of the French in 1763, English influence and trade have steadily grown there until India is one of the most important divisions of the British empire. This success has been gained in spite of many obstacles. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt threatened India. The jealousy of the other ambitious nations has always been a danger. Furthermore, in 1857, a serious rebellion broke out in India, headed by the sepoys, or native troops. Many foreigners were slaughtered, others were closely besieged in the cities, and the country seemed lost to England. However, the English reinforcements rushed in were far superior to the native soldiers, and the heroic defense and relief of Lucknow ended the rebellion. Since that time England has carefully reorganized the Indian army<sup>②</sup> and consolidated her power in the peninsula. In 1877 India was constituted an empire, and Queen Victoria was enthroned as Empress. Today India is governed by a Secretary and Council in England, and a Viceroy and Council in India. Native Indians may sit in this resident Council, but there is no popular assembly. The Viceroy is appointed by the King of England, as Emperor of India.

As in Egypt, the English occupation of India has prospered the country. The English have protected lives and property throughout the many misgoverned Indian states, and have set up an honest administration. They have fought pestilence, and ameliorated famine. A network of irrigation canals makes crops more certain and more abundant. Government highways and government railways have established a greater freedom of communication which should in time break down the bitter class distinctions in caste-ridden Indian society. To this end also the English schools have contributed. The

Progress of  
India.

<sup>①</sup>There are, of course, other important divisions of Africa. Belgium controls the Congo Free State. Germany has nearly a million square miles of territory on the east and west coasts. England also has lands not considered in the above text. Portugal and Italy have African colonies. The latter power wantonly attacked Turkey and seized Tripoli in 1911.

<sup>②</sup>With European and Indian soldiers in the ratio of one to two. The native troops received European officers. The artillery was largely put in the hands of Europeans.

progress of India is reflected in the finances of the country; since 1899 there has been an annual surplus in the treasury.

Despite these successes, Indian affairs have demanded the closest attention. Nearly two million square miles and three hundred million people must be governed at long range, with a handful of men. Two-thirds of India's imports come from English markets. The problem is to retain this advantage and to increase the buying power of the Indians, many of whom are very poor. Even the recent progress in India makes new difficulties. The English have decreased war, pestilence, and infanticide, but these very reforms have helped to increase the population, thus aggravating the famine problem, so often present in India. Many Indians have attended the English schools, but what they have learned of the West has caused the growth of a nationalist party, demanding Home Rule for India. The violence and bitterness of this party have retarded the English work in India, yet their program is impossible of accomplishment. Social and religious divisions there are still so sharply made that a native government could not be made permanent at the present time.

**Problems  
in India.**

The greatest Indian problem for many years was its protection against Russia. India, like Italy, is a peninsula flanked by a mountain wall. On this mountain barrier of India there are three weak states,—Persia, Afghanistan and Thibet. North of these states, even as far as the frozen ocean, Russia rules supreme. During the nineteenth century, the colossal might of Russia moved slowly south through central Asia, subduing one lawless tribe after another. The advance was glacier-like; it threatened to envelop the mountain mass and, finally, India. The English grew alarmed, and strengthened the northwest approaches to India; the Russians constantly played upon this fear and used the threat of an Indian invasion to carry weight with their demands in the councils of Europe. Russian generals prepared plans for the invasion of India, and Russian railroads stretched drearily out across the desert from the Caspian Sea toward Afghanistan.

**The Menace  
of Russia.**

In 1885 the Russians had reached the northern slope of the mountain wall, and they annexed an Afghan city there. By this time the English had likewise consolidated their control over all the Indian princes up to the very mountain passes on the South. Afghanistan lay like a wedge driven in between the two great antagonists. In the struggle which followed to control this buffer state, the English won, finally, because they were willing to allow the Emir his independence; but the contest drew them into two stirring Afghan wars, and caused much anxiety about India. In 1905 the Emir made an agreement to deal with no foreign power without England's consent. For this he received a heavy subsidy and a guarantee of protection. This relation was ratified in an Anglo-Russian understanding of 1907, which also divided Persia into a Russian and an English sphere of influence. Each power was to recognize the political integrity of Persia. Each was to make no trouble in the sphere of the



other. Thus the bug-bear of an Indian invasion has disappeared for the time being. Russia came to an understanding with Great Britain because of disorders at home, the terrific reverses of the war with Japan, and the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1905.

#### THE CONTROL OF THE PACIFIC.

The great nations of the world are constantly expanding. Either their increasing population makes emigration necessary, or their growing manufactures create a heavy export trade. A foreign market must be found for these products, in order to provide funds to buy food for the millions at home. Nations must sell, in order to be able to buy; hence present-day history is concerned with an international struggle to secure the markets of the world. Some nations would secure these by gaining political control, and then excluding the goods of their rivals. Others believe in free trade throughout the world, and an equal opportunity for all. Heretofore the Atlantic Ocean has played the leading role in modern world history, but for the last score of years, the Pacific has gained in interest. Over half a billion people press upon its shores, and its present undeveloped commerce can easily be extended into enormous proportions. To secure a share of this great trade, the nations have engaged in a race to secure coaling stations, ocean cables, colonies, and "spheres of influence." For years the two rivals, England and Russia, led in this race, but recently the matter has been complicated by other nations, and by reform in China.

**Value of  
World  
Markets.**

**The Advance  
of Russia  
on China.**

In 1580 a Russian freebooter by the name of Jermak made his way across the Ural mountains with a band of Cossacks. They easily conquered the nomadic tribes which they met, and the wanderings of other bands of these wild soldiers carried them ever eastward, subduing Siberia in the name of the Czar. In 1700 the Cossack advance reached the Pacific Ocean, and even extended across Behring Strait into Alaska. Then the career of conquest turned southward into Chinese territory and by 1860 the Czar controlled everything as far as the Amur River and had founded Vladivostock. In 1891 the Russians began a six-thousand mile railway across Siberia; a little later they became extremely active in northeastern China—in the province of Manchuria. In 1895 when Japan had defeated China in war and had won the great harbor of Port Arthur in Manchuria, Russia forced the Mikado to return the prize to China, because, in Japanese hands it would "threaten the peace of the East."<sup>1</sup> Following this signal service to China, Russian influence poured into the northern provinces and became all powerful in Peking. The Great Wall had once kept out the Tartars, but it could not restrain such a flood; the Russians became so powerful that in 1898 they themselves took over Port Arthur<sup>2</sup> from China. Manchuria filled

<sup>1</sup> Germany and France aided Russia in this. Japan wisely submitted at the time, but began to prepare for war.

<sup>2</sup> At almost the same time, and as if by prearrangement, Germany seized the valuable harbor Kiao-Chow in return for the murder of some missionaries. France also occupied a harbor in the South. The partition of China seemed at hand.



up with Russian soldiers. The Russians forced their way into Korea, whose feeble "Emperor" came completely under the control of the Czar.

Meanwhile, England had been creating great interests in the southern half of China, in Shanghai and the great Yang-tse valley, and in Canton. The English did not try to occupy territory, they developed trade. At first the Chinese were very self-satisfied and exclusive; they wished to be let alone. Then they grew very hostile to all foreigners and attempted to drive them out of the country.<sup>①</sup> In 1840 the English chastised them, took the island of Hong Kong, opposite Canton, and forced them to open additional ports to foreign commerce. As a result British trade developed so enormously that English advice carried the most weight in Peking for a great many years. This advantage was lost when Russia occupied Port Arthur. As a guard against this strong position the English then leased the harbor of Wei-hai-wei, across the gulf from the Russians.

English  
Interests in  
China.

In 1898, therefore, China lay a helpless, stupid colossus, exposed to the greed of nations, and ignorant of his own strength. The people were superstitious and opposed to change; the great provincial viceroys were almost independent of the central government in Peking; the government officers were very often incapable and corrupt. What an opportunity for intrigue! The reward for foreign interference was also tempting. Rich deposits of coal, iron and other minerals lay ready to be worked, and the trade of 400,000,000 people awaited development.<sup>②</sup>

By this time Chinese leaders began vaguely to see their danger. At first they had despised all foreigners and had demanded the humiliating *kotow*<sup>③</sup> from all who were received by the Emperor. Although not "begging for foreign canned asparagus and silk hats" in 1898, they saw that western nations had an organization superior to their own. The simple-minded Emperor therefore tried to remodel Chinese institutions in a day, by a set of reform edicts. Of course his radical changes aroused great opposition, for hoary customs cannot suddenly be set aside by decree. Thereupon, the Empress Dowager<sup>④</sup> deposed the Emperor and withdrew the edicts. She then gave her support to the "Boxers," a secret society whose object was to expel all foreigners from the country. In 1900, this society destroyed much foreign property, murdered many missionaries, and with the aid of regular Chinese troops, actually besieged the foreign quarter in Peking. Only a thrilling rescue march from the coast by an international army prevented a terrible massacre. The allies occupied Peking, and the Chinese asked for peace. Then the great mistake of

Chinese  
Hostility to  
Foreigners.

<sup>①</sup>In the "Opium War," so called, because in their hostility to all things foreign the Chinese attacked the opium trade carried on by foreign merchants.

<sup>②</sup>Chinese foreign trade is less than \$1 per capita. That of the United States is over thirty times as great.

<sup>③</sup>To *kotow* one must kneel and strike the forehead on the ground. European envoys generally refused to *kotow*.

<sup>④</sup>Tz'u Hsi. This remarkable woman was the real ruler of China from 1861 to 1908. She was often aided by an able minister, Li Hung Chang.

the Empress in supporting the anti-foreign movement became clear. The powers forced a heavy indemnity from China, and Russia kept a firm hold upon Manchuria. Furthermore, the anti-foreign policy had turned away many of the friends of China with the result that the dismemberment of the great empire seemed close at hand. Then it was that China received undeserved and unexpected aid from two different sources,—from the United States and Japan.

The  
"Open Door."

The war with Spain had given the Philippine Islands to the United States in 1899. These islands were but two days from China, and with Hawaii, offered a direct means of approach from the United States. Americans could sell petroleum, flour, cotton goods and farm implements in China, and they wanted a chance to do so. They did not care to be excluded from any foreign "spheres of influence" there. Hence in 1899 and 1900, Secretary of State John Hay secured written agreements from all the Powers to maintain an "Open Door" for trade, in whatever territories they might secure in China. Since Manchuria was still nominally a Chinese province, Hay also insisted on a promise from the Russians that their troops would leave Manchuria as soon as the country became quiet.

This was only diplomacy; Japan used both diplomacy and force. Russia was not content to hold Manchuria, but rapidly pushed agents into Korea. This peninsula was only a few hours' sail from Japan; Russia in Korea would be a bar to further Japanese progress.<sup>①</sup> Japan, therefore, repeatedly sought an agreement with Russia by which the Czar would assume control of Manchuria and the Mikado of Korea. Russia would not divide the spoils with Japan in this way, and so this David among the nations tried war. The immense and unwieldy Muscovite empire could not bring its strength to bear upon the Pacific coast, while the attack of the Japanese was hornet-like in its swiftness and vigor. They completely destroyed two great Russian fleets and won the sea; they slowly forced the stubborn Russian armies backward through Manchuria. Finally, they captured Port Arthur again, after sacrificing over 50,000 men in the siege. Revolution at home then caused Russia to sign the Peace of Portsmouth in 1905. Korea became a Japanese dependency, Russia returned Manchuria to China, and Japan received the great fortress of Port Arthur and the territory roundabout. The Japanese then secured a treaty with England which assured to each power all its territories in Asian waters. Thus the peace was made more stable, and the partition of China was checked for the time being.

The Russo-  
Japanese  
War.

<sup>①</sup>The Japanese changed from feudalism to modern institutions in one generation. Early Dutch and Portuguese immigrants had taught them the value of western culture, but it was not until Perry's visit in 1853 that they opened communications with outside nations. The Mikado, or Emperor, abolished feudalism in 1868, and took oath to "draw knowledge from all nations that the empire might be established.

Since that time the Japanese have borrowed wisely and widely. They have created a national army and an efficient navy, they have set up a complete system of modern communications. They survived a bitter civil war and established a constitutional government with a parliament and a ministry. Expanding trade and surplus population gave them a great interest in Korea at an early time. Their ambition to possess this strategic land, and chronic misgovernment there, caused a war with China, the Suzerain of Korea, in 1894-5. At the close of this war they secured a great indemnity, which furnished the means of improving their army and navy.

The rescue of China from dismemberment did not solve the Pacific problem. It is not yet clear how the Pacific trade is to be divided among the nations. Russia may try to regain the ground lost during the recent war. Japan, Great Britain, and the United States now hold the lead in Pacific affairs.

**The Future  
in the  
Pacific.**

The policy of Japan is closely watched. Some people fear a Japanese Monroe Doctrine for eastern Asia; a few Americans are even afraid of a descent of the Japanese upon the Philippines. Past successes have doubtless made the Japanese ambitious. They may be hoping to become the English of the Orient, to make its cloth, and carry its freight. Rivals of the West they undoubtedly are, but they are not necessarily enemies, thirsting for war.<sup>1</sup> For many years their energies will be consumed in developing Korea, and in paying off their crushing national debt.

**Japan.**

Japanese ambitions have attracted attention to American interests in the Pacific.<sup>2</sup> The possession of the Philippines by the United States hastened the construction of the Panama Canal, through which the Atlantic coast of North America will be from two to three thousand miles nearer the East coast of Asia than ever before. Hawaii, the cross-roads of the Pacific, guards the trade routes of that great ocean. Alaska and the Philippines are merely awaiting development. The western coast of South America is to become acquainted with the products of the United States, as well as with those of Europe. In China, the United States still works for the Open Door, and friendly relations with the Chinese. In spite of the brutality of the Boxer outbreak, the United States returned to China more than half of its share of the indemnity forced from that country in 1900.

**The United  
States.**

The British interests in the Pacific are also very important. The Australian Commonwealth<sup>3</sup> controls a territory as large as the United States, while Great Britain enjoys more than half of the foreign trade of China. Supporting the position taken by the United States, the powerful influence of Great Britain also opposes a partition of China. Although an ally of Japan, the King's government would resist Japanese restrictions on Pacific trade.

The future of Pacific trade will also depend upon the stability of the new reform government in China. Following the seizure of Chinese ports by foreign powers in 1897-8, great discontent appeared in that country; of this feeling the Boxer uprising was one evidence. Other more enlightened Chinese who feared the foreigner laid the blame for Chinese troubles upon the Chinese government, which was in the hands of the foreign Manchu dynasty, and began agitation for a revolution and the establishment of a republic. This great

<sup>1</sup> Hostile legislation in the United States against Japanese immigration and against Japanese property owners has been a frequent cause of trouble in recent years, but there is no reason to believe that diplomacy will fail to find a peaceable solution of the matter. Like the United States, both Australia and Canada have excluded Orientals.

<sup>2</sup> In the decade following the war with Spain the trade of the United States with the Pacific increased one hundred per cent.

<sup>3</sup> Established in 1900.



change actually took place in 1911, before the incredulous eyes of the entire world. Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the revolutionists, proved to be too visionary for the stress of practical government, and the Iron Man of China, Yuan Shi Kai, became first president. Under a constitution granting only a limited suffrage, and with almost dictatorial powers Yuan is attempting to make China strong enough to take a place in the congress of world nations. He is making a vigorous fight to stop the sale and use of opium in China. Hundreds of temples have been converted into school houses, while thousands of Chinese have entered foreign universities. Railroads are advancing, the coinage is being overhauled, the government is being rendered more efficient. Foreign instructors are creating a capable army, ready to defend the reforms already secured. China, the great yellow giant, begins to stir with quickened powers. Some claim that, fully awake, he will be a Yellow Peril to the rest of the world. It is just as probable that he will be a giant workman, peaceably doing his share of the work of the world.

#### AMERICA AS A WORLD POWER.

**The Monroe Doctrine.**—Aside from its influence in the Pacific, the United States affects world policies through its predominant position in America. It has gained this controlling influence partly through the use of the Monroe Doctrine. This famous principle has meant, in general, opposition to any European interference in American affairs, contrary to the interests of the United States.

The germ of this idea can be found as early as the utterances of Washington. In his Farewell Address he advised a policy of political seclusion for the new government. When, later, European powers considered an interference in American affairs, President Monroe simply expressed the hostility of his countrymen to such action. Russian agents were at that time pushing south along the Pacific coast of North America, and certain European powers were disposed to help Spain regain her revolted colonies in South and Central America. Urged on by John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, President Monroe made the following announcement in a message to Congress in 1823: (1) that no districts in America were open to colonization; (2) that the United States intended to hold aloof from European political affairs; (3) that any attempt on the part of European powers to extend their political system in America would be looked upon by the United States as an unfriendly act. This message was not acted upon by Congress, neither was it accepted by other nations as a principle of international law. It was simply the statement of an opinion;<sup>9</sup> since it was the opinion of a whole people, European nations respected it, and no intervention in Spanish America took place. Thus Monroe's famous message further emphasized Washington's policy of aloofness; the United States had little share in world politics for seventy-five years thereafter.

<sup>9</sup> Bismarck called the Monroe Doctrine "a species of arrogance peculiarly American and quite inexcusable."



During this time the elastic Doctrine appeared in several different forms. President Polk would have used it to justify the annexation of Yucatan in order to prevent its acquisition by foreign powers. The discovery of gold in California gave great interest to communications across the isthmus of Panama; the Doctrine was then extended sufficiently to justify the control of these communications by the United States. At the close of the Civil War, Secretary Seward expelled the French from Mexico with the same argument contained in Monroe's Doctrine. As years passed, some men in the United States even began to speak of the time when all European authority in America would come to an end. In 1895 when England refused to arbitrate a disputed boundary with Venezuela, President Cleveland appealed to the Monroe Doctrine and showed a willingness to go to war. He called the Doctrine international law; he claimed for the United States a predominant influence in the political affairs of the Western Hemisphere. England finally consented to arbitration, but did not admit the extreme claim of the President.

**Expansion  
of the  
Original  
Doctrine.**

It was another appeal to this later form of the Doctrine which put an end to the period of American seclusion, and made the United States a world power in a political sense. For many years Cuba had been notoriously misgoverned by Spain, and was in a state of chronic discontent. The United States at first refused to let some of the Spanish American republics aid the Cubans, and of course foreign powers dared not approach an island almost within hailing distance of Florida. At last, in the name of humanity, the United States put a stop to the Cuban disorders, in 1898. This caused a war with Spain, the freedom of Cuba, and the acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines by the United States. In control of the Philippines, the Americans saw the value of China and foreign trade; hence they not only tightened their grip upon Panama, but they adopted an Asian policy.

**War with  
Spain.**

No sooner had the Spanish War closed the period of seclusion by giving the people of the United States over-sea interests in Asia, than other events forced them forward in their course as a world power. Intervention in China during the Boxer troubles in 1900 could not be avoided. The Pekin legations were in danger, and United States troops joined the allies to rescue them. In the negotiations which followed the disorders, the United States played a leading part, in urging moderation upon the allies and in standing for the integrity of China. Later, Secretary Hay insisted upon the recognition of China's neutrality in the Russo-Japanese war; and the vigorous personality of President Roosevelt started the peace negotiations at Portsmouth in 1905, and disclosed the new position which the United States had assumed in world politics.

Aware of the new interests created in the Pacific, the United States undertook the construction of the Panama Canal. Ten years of labor and an outlay of four hundred million dollars were no obstacles to the awakened American ambition. The republic of Columbia hesitated to grant a right of way across the province of Pan-

**The Panama  
Canal.**

ama, but a revolt freed the whole isthmus in 1903 from Columbia. President Roosevelt then quickly recognized the new state and made terms for the construction of the canal. Fever lurked in the swamps, floods threatened the construction works, a mountain ridge blocked the way, the great railroads of the United States fought the undertaking, but all difficulties were finally overcome, and the great work was completed in 1914.<sup>①</sup>

**The Monroe  
Doctrine  
Today.**

The appearance of the United States in world politics has not weakened the Monroe Doctrine.<sup>②</sup> After the Spanish War they established a protectorate over Cuba. In accordance with this agreement they intervened again in 1906 to restore order, and no European power made a protest. In 1902 Germany explained that coercive measures which were soon to be taken to collect debts in Venezuela would not result in the acquisition of any South American territory. The United States objected even to the occupation of Venezuelan ports, whereupon Germany submitted the claims to arbitration, and other interested nations followed that example. Two years later, Santo Domingo was in trouble with European creditors; when Germany and France were about to use force in collecting money owed to their citizens, President Roosevelt intervened and put an agent in charge of the finances of the island. The freedom allowed the United States in controlling the Panama Canal is another recognition of their preponderant influence in America. Very recently, the forbearance of the foreign powers during the Mexican crisis has emphasized the opportunity and the responsibility of the United States in American affairs.

**The Future  
of the  
Monroe  
Doctrine.**

Americans are not agreed as to what form the Monroe Doctrine should take in the future. The predominant influence of the United States in the Caribbean Sea<sup>③</sup> seems assured, and that district will probably develop into a "sphere of influence" ever more closely under the control of Washington. Farther south the case is different. Socially and geographically<sup>④</sup> eastern South America is nearer Europe than the United States. Europe controls many of the Spanish-American banks, and the greater part of the foreign trade of South America. European creditors have claims against South America for over two billion dollars, with South American investments worth twice that sum. It is necessary to remember also that these investments have only started the development of the enormous wealth of the continent; that the population there is very scanty, while some European states are over-populated. It would not be surprising if one of these powers should try to acquire territory in South America.

<sup>①</sup>Great credit for the completion of the Canal must be given to Colonel Goethals, the United States army engineer in charge of the work.

<sup>②</sup>While still opposed to direct intervention in European affairs the United States have shown an interest in European questions. They have taken part in the Hague Conferences and were represented at the Conference of Algieras. They have also made diplomatic inquiries concerning the state of the Jews in Russia and Roumania.

<sup>③</sup>Great Britain has lately weakened her military forces there.

<sup>④</sup>A railroad to West Africa and a short sea voyage would put Brazil within six days of Paris.

The Monroe Doctrine has been the barrier to this occupation. In the future, shall the United States merely oppose the seizure of American territory by foreign powers, or shall they also forbid the forcible collection of debts in American states, as President Roosevelt did in the case of Venezuela, and even take control of the finances of the debtor country as was done in the case of Santo Domingo? That would make the United States navy a collector for foreign creditors; the United States would be the policeman of the Western Hemisphere, and would be compelled to assume a protectorate over all weak states there. Such a policy would lay an unnecessary burden upon the United States; moreover, the fear of such extreme interference has caused the greater South American republics to distrust their great northern neighbor. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile do not desire protection as outposts of the empire of the United States; they wish a doctrine<sup>①</sup> promulgated by the leading American powers which shall oppose all forcible collection of debts owed by one state to the citizens of another. Although the United States has not accepted this view,<sup>②</sup> they have so far been able to hold a middle ground. They have protected the debtor states from violence, and have secured the settlement of European claims by arbitration. This moderation is overcoming South American distrust, while increasing trade and improved communications are preparing the way for a better understanding between the two continents.

#### MATERIAL PROGRESS.

No statement of the forces and the achievements of the world today would be complete without some mention of the great material progress in modern times, especially in very recent times; and yet the attempt to describe material progress is like the attempt of a child to reach up and grasp the sky. In general, we can merely say that great industrial changes similar to those noted in the Industrial Revolution have powerfully affected all nations, emphasizing democracy, raising the standard of life, and increasing wealth and population.

The development of communications has aided progress. The perfection of the telegraph by Morse, of the telephone by Bell, of wireless by Marconi, has meant the spread of information, the growth of a powerful public press, and the creation of a sensitive public opinion. These same agencies of communication, along with the modern system of international credit, have closely articulated business activities all over the world, so that exchanges can be made between the most distant lands in the twinkling of an eye. In the work of transporting commodities the development of motor vehicles

Communica-  
tions.

<sup>①</sup>This is known as the Drago doctrine, suggested by the Argentine statesman of that name.

<sup>②</sup>The Niagara Convention of representatives of the United States and these "A-B-C" powers, summoned in 1914 to consider the Mexican question, disclosed the growing influence of South American countries in general American affairs, and hence in the future interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.



has made men independent of the highly developed and very efficient railroads and trolley lines, while the navigation of the air has brought an independence of roads altogether.

**Power.**

In the matter of power utilization the modern world has made great progress. Along the lines of economy, improved methods of firing and the substitution of the rotary for the reciprocal engine have brought far greater results from a given amount of fuel. The infinite uses of electricity have allowed a more general distribution of power. The invention of the internal combustion engine allowed a much more complete transformation of fuel into power, as well as the manufacture of engines of small size, of little weight, but of great power.<sup>①</sup> Finally, the perfection of the Diesel Engine makes possible the use of many other fuels besides gas, thus insuring cheap power, and convenient power everywhere.

**Means of Subsistence.**

The progress of the time is shown in the rising standard of life, due to the increased means of subsistence created by vastly improved methods of production. Following the publication of Malthus' "Essay on Population" in 1799 it was thought that the time might come when the world would be over populated to the point of starvation. The opposite has been the case during the past century; the means of subsistence have increased much more rapidly than has population. The improvement of agricultural machinery and of agricultural methods has enabled the thinly settled regions to provide excess food supplies for the centers of population. Similar improvements in the processes of storing and preserving food, and in making clothing and building materials have made it possible for commerce and industry to gather raw materials from all nations, to transform them, and later to send them out for consumption to the most distant ends of the earth.

**Protective Measures and Institutions.**

A progressive society is not only productive; it tries also to protect and maintain advances already gained. Recent times show most encouraging results along this very line of protection. Sanitation and hygiene have cleaned the streets of cities, insured a pure and abundant water supply, and disposed of sewage and waste—thereby adding to the beauty and to the safety of city life. Inspection of food supplies and of home conditions has lowered the death rate; especially has the creation of a pure milk supply caused a decrease in infant mortality. Modern surgery<sup>②</sup> has repaired and put back to work in society hundreds of human machines which, in an earlier day, would have been a total loss. Modern medicine, using the germ theory of disease, has robbed many plagues of their terrors, and has saved thousands of able-bodied men and women for a society which needs their labor. Likewise, factory laws, prison reform, and charitable institutions innumerable work in common to prevent an enormous waste of human material which was at one time practically disregarded.

<sup>①</sup>The development of a heavier than air flying machine was held back until the perfection of the gas engine.

<sup>②</sup>Consider the remarkable results secured by Dr. Alexis Carrel in the Rockefeller Institute.



## WORLD UNITY.

As we come to the close of modern history, the last division of world history, the question may well be asked, "What is the outcome of the whole matter? What is the reason for our study of ancient monuments, of mediaeval churches, and of modern revolutions? Is there any characteristic common to all history? Is there any goal of all this human endeavor?"

There is a characteristic common to the history of nations; it is progress, a progress in knowledge, and in accomplishment. The history of nations shows many details, but it is unified in this one particular: it shows a development toward an end. The knowledge of mankind has increased so enormously that now no one man can master all learning, as was possible in the days of the Greeks. Nevertheless, with all this advance, the study of nature seems only begun, the knowledge of man is far from complete. Increased knowledge has meant increased accomplishment. Today we lay more and more emphasis upon the individual, upon what he can accomplish in the world, and upon his rights. So far has this movement gone, that the helpless infant is more important today than were the majority of adults in former times.

Coincident with this emphasis of the individual the goal of the complex human endeavor pictured in history appears to be a closer world unity. In spite of race and national prejudices many preparations for a closer union of mankind have already been made. The development of communications has caused men and knowledge to travel, bringing about a better understanding among the nations. A better understanding has been the basis for international organizations. The Red Cross society aids the suffering everywhere, regardless of race or country. Socialism has overstepped national boundaries. A code of international law regulates much of the conduct of nations in war and peace. The Interparliamentary Union receives representatives from nearly all the legislative bodies in the world, and seeks to influence the laws of individual nations. The Hague Conferences have aided the movement to do away with international war. The permanent Hague Court is an instrument for settling international disputes by arbitration. It is true that national peculiarities will continue, exactly as personal peculiarities exist in the members of a family; but just as there can be a unity of differing personalities in the family, so shall we see a unity of nationalities in the world. Religion, history, and poetry point forward to "a parliament of man, a federation of the world."

## TOPICS FOR EXTRA STUDY.

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|------------------------|--|
| 1. Lord Kitchener.     | 7. Charles Darwin.                       |
| 2. Emperor William II. | 8. Tolstoi.                              |
| 3. Theodore Roosevelt. | 9. The Olympic Games.                    |
| 4. Bushido.            | 10. The Hague Tribunal.                  |
| 5. Thomas A. Edison.   | 11. Socialism.                           |
| 6. Lord Cromer.        | 12. The Inter-State Commerce Commission. |















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